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*This issue is illustrated with reproductions of the works of  
Viktoras Petravičius (on the cover: linoleum-cut "In the  
Lake", 1961) • The cover design by Kęstutis Čerkeliūnas*







## THE USES AND ABUSES OF

# NATIONALISM

The current view of nationalism is not a sympathetic one. True, many unpleasant things can be said about its aberrations. The Economic nationalism and the Second World War of yesterday or Goa and the Middle East of today provide potent arguments for those who want to show and stress its evils. One might not be wrong in seeing a necessary connection between the humanistic nationalism of the Germans during the Napoleonic Era and the animal nationalism of Hitler's days or the passivistic nationalism of India while it fought for its independence and the outbreak of hysteria in recent months. One might even draw the inference that nationalism awakened new goals, the frustration of which gave rise to the various manifestations of aggressiveness that have scourged the world.

But nationalism also has its positive aspects, for it released and channeled the energies of peoples into productive efforts.

The basic theme of this issue of *Lituanus* is nationalism. In one of its articles, J. Girnius answers critics such as Maritain who consider the nation as a primitive phenomenon and hold that any feelings of loyalty toward the nation should be subordinated to the interests of the State, which, as an institution reflecting the rational part of man's nature, deserves a higher place. Yet, if by this it is meant that the State, that is the most powerful group within the State, has the right to compel subjugation of a nation that has responsibly decided to take charge of its own affairs, the ethical position as to the superiority of the State really is open to criticism. On the contrary, as Girnius says, if man is to have complete freedom, he must have the power of self-determination. Thus, it was not an accident that the liberal revolutions of the 19th Century were also national revolutions.

Although nationalism is thought to be unique to the non-communist world, actually in one form or another, it does appear in the Communist system. The Communists condemn bourgeois nationalism, yet the history of the Second World War shows how it was utilized by them to win the struggle against the Germans. This phenomenon is not a doctrinal inconsistency dictated by pragmatic necessity. As V. Trumpa points out in his article, Lenin himself left room for nationalistic values by stating that aside from values common to all proletariat, in each nation there exist two cultures—the bourgeois and the folk, and that only the former is to be condemned. The article is devoted to exploration of the problems that Lenin's precept raised when during the short-lived age of revisionism a broader interpretation of folk culture was given.

It was this broad interpretation that endangered the integrity of the Soviet Union and it was out of pragmatic necessity that a shift in policy occurred again. The ending to Lenin's law is found in the words of the Twenty-Second CP Congress:

"Attaching decisive importance to the development of the Socialist content of the cultures of the peoples of the USSR, the party will promote their further mutual enrichment and rapprochement, the consolidation of their international basis, and thereby the formation of the future single world-wide culture of the Communist society... The Russian language has, in effect, become the common medium of intercourse and cooperation between all the peoples of the USSR."

## EAST and WEST

# THE PROBLEM OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

Vincas TRUMPA

## The meeting of the old and the new

Vladas Mozūriūnas, a communist poet of the older generation, in his collection *Vilniaus Etiudai*, published in 1958, organically tried to integrate two ideas that at least superficially seem opposite, vision of the future and nostalgia for the past.<sup>1</sup> It really is impossible to make a judgment as to which of the motifs predominates: whether it is Vilnius with its new rising factories, its new houses, parks and broad boulevards or whether it is Vilnius of the renaissance and baroque, with its church towers and ruins of castles and its narrow and winding streets and alleys. In reading his work one sometimes feels that nostalgia overpowers the vision of the future, as often was the case with Lithuanian poetry. Indicative of his nostalgia for the past is the following poem:<sup>2</sup>

*You did not see the golden  
Hands of masters building Vilnius,  
But roaming through its ancient streets  
As if a yearbook you do read.*

*You read from mossy bricks,  
From towers, narrow winding streets.  
They shroud your mind and heart  
With a nostalgic longing.*

*Drowsy feelings are awakened  
By the mystic prayer of gothic structures.  
Heavy, intricate baroque  
Overwhelms you with the strength of its lines.*

Mozūriūnas, however, would not be a communist poet if he concerned himself only with the past. He believes in the future, which someday also will be romanticized. He says:<sup>3</sup>

*You live by Vingis park,  
Where arches do not appear above the streets, —  
Where there is none of the old romanticism,  
You live in houses — new.  
The windows freshly painted,  
Beyond them, pine trees grow,  
And the dizzy silence of the suburb  
Is fragrant with the smell of chalk and tar.*

*The horses of the soldiers have not roared  
here yet,  
Homes have not been disturbed at night by  
The song of a proud poet [fires,  
Was not born with this day.  
But here was born your son,  
Here his fair-haired friends shall grow up,  
And the roofs shall become covered with moss.*

*Beneath the brilliant blue of this sky  
Thus time shall pass... and will change the plain  
Of this suburb's crude streets — [attire  
They shall be adorned by the hands of history  
And the ages slowly pass on.  
And perhaps here — by Vingis park  
A majestic arch of triumph will rise,  
An undying song will be born —  
And the old romanticism will come.*

A poet in the epic tradition, in a cold, homeric manner attempts thus to integrate the realities of the past, the present, and the future. He does not dramatize. To him it is natural for the old to be displaced by the new, but at the same time, he does not feel overwhelmed by new constructions, which will be worthy of a poet's song only when the moss romanticizes them.

Of course, not everyone can or wants to observe the passing years and the furiously, frantically unfolding present in such a detached manner and without feeling any pain. A wayside cross, leveled by a tractor or a combine, is not merely an everyday phenomenon to everyone. And not everyone sees in a corn field planted on an old cemetery an inevitable manifestation of the dialectic process. A young writer, Vytautas Bubnys, in his short story "A Wind from Nemunas", when writing about the newly created reservoir near Kaunas and the hydroelectric station cannot look quietly at the flooded villages, valleys, and old bridges. In this he sees not only inevitable dialectics but also the human tragedy of an emigrant, who some day might return to his native land but might not find his home.<sup>4</sup>

In such diverse ways the writer attempts to solve the problem of the nostalgia for the past and the vision of the future, but in ways that are not necessarily dialectical. Certainly he is speaking not just for himself, but he also expresses the thoughts and feelings of every man. The organizers of political and cultural life, on the other hand, view this question strictly through an ideological framework, a question to be considered and answered in formal pronouncements, applicable to all.

## The applications of Marxist-Leninist theory on culture

The interpretation of the cultural heritage, about which there has been an extensive discussion in Lithuania during the last years, is really a problem of integrating the past and the present in such a manner that the total interpretation



Viktoras PETRAVICIUS

IN A DP CAMP • Lino-cut, 1947

of the nation would be consistent with the predominant communist ideological precepts. If the new was really absolutely new and if the old was absolutely a dead past, without an influence upon the life of the present, there would be no such problem of cultural heritage. This, however, is not the case. Even the most revolutionary ideas cannot separate themselves from the past. For example, in its time Christianity was an extremely

revolutionary idea, but it could not get along without the pagan philosophies of Aristotle and Plato.

Marxism-Leninism, allegedly a very revolutionary idea that ushered in a new epoch in the history of mankind, also cannot get along without the arguments of history. First of all, it needs the historical arguments to prove that it is not a mere accident, but a result of deeply perceived

historical process. Furthermore, without the arguments of the past it would be difficult or impossible to prove that the historical process is necessarily and inevitably leading to communism. Marxism-Leninism is really more dependent upon history than any other ideological system. Historical and dialectical materialism, as the philosophical basis of Marxism-Leninism, by its essence derives from historical forces, among which the will of the individual and his creativity is conceived only as a function of more stable and powerful materialistic elements that really determine the historical direction. Perhaps the principal reasons why the interpretation of the past is problematic to the followers of Marxism-Leninism are the hardly tenable conceptions of the structure and the super-structure of a society to communism.

The Marxist-Leninist would like to show the originality of his idea, but at the same time he wants to back it up with the power of all the past ages. It would be difficult to judge whether the originality or the historical basis of communism is more important to the communist ideologue. Despite the general orientation to the future and despite the constant repetition of the thesis that the 1917 Revolution was the only decisive revolutionary turn, redirecting the course of human history, the communist ideologue with equal fervor attempts to support their theories with historical arguments. Of course, their use of history is itself an ideological act and their views do not coincide with those of an objective historian, to whom it is important to recreate the past as it really was. The communist historian must select those facts and trends which are useful in justifying the present and the future course of Communism. In other words, he is a biased historian and makes no attempt to conceal his bias, just like some of the historians of early Christianity.

In addition to being ideologically directed in historical research, the communist historian also has a more specific task. Since the Soviet Union remains the standard bearer of Communism, every one must help her to accomplish the historical task. The Soviet Union, however, is a multi-nation state which is seeking to bring even more nationalities under its wing. Thus the soviet cultural ideologue is faced with the basic and one of the most difficult problems of reconciling the many national diversities with the communist idea. It was easy for Marx to say that the proletariat has no country. Today however, the Soviet Union herself no longer is disposed to accept a designation of a proletarian state and even if she did, she is still faced with the practical problem of integrating over a hundred nations within the monolithic framework of Communism. The cultural heritage of these nations, as well as their unique national features, are a constant source of difficulties to the builders of a uniform communist society, especially since the vague and

stifling ideological notions on culture fail to provide the cultural workers with standards for exact judgement.

Until the present, in attempting to solve these problems, the communists maintained Lenin's principle that in each national culture there are really two cultures: the culture of the exploited and suppressed masses and the culture of the ruling and exploiter classes. In dogmatically applying this principle Stalin solved the problem of national identity and cultural heritage. He erased everything that was not created by the people and left the various nationalities of the Soviet Union, their folk dances and folk songs, and those revolutionary artists who accepted Communism and the Soviet Union. The Russian nation was excepted from this policy because of its unique role in organizing and carrying through the communist revolution. Its cultural achievements were to be elevated to such heights that everything created by the other nationalities would seem to be accomplished only under the influence of the Russian nation and its culture. In the interpretations of Stalin, Lenin's idea of two national cultures was translated into the policy "socialist in content, national in form" regarding cultural matters. In practice, this meant that the culture of a nation was to be Russian in content and national in language.

The twentieth Congress of the CPSU having strongly criticized a dogmatic interpretation of a number of Marxist-Leninist ideas, also expounded a new and much more liberal interpretation of Lenin's views on two cultures within a nation. In one of its resolutions, the Congress announced: "The Congress fully endorses the measures taken by the Central Committee of the CPSU to extend the powers of the republican bodies in economic and cultural affairs. . . In its national policy, the Party has always proceeded from the Leninist principle that socialism, far from removing national distinctions and specific features, ensures the all-around development and efflorescence of the economies and cultures of all nations and nationalities. In the future, too, the Party must attentively heed these specific features in all its practical activity."

It must be immediately noted that these resolutions were not just formal pronouncements. They were being carried out. They provided a basis for a new reexamination of the problems of cultural heritage and national uniqueness. The atmosphere of the "thaw" and the partial destalinization created favorable conditions for a more genuine discussion of the above problems. The ferment in Lithuania, characterized by enthusiasm and extremes, during the post-twentieth Congress years is symptomatic of the intellectual re-evaluations of cultural views that were going on in the entire Soviet Union.



### The discovery of cultural heritage after Stalin

A. Upyts, a Latvian writer of the older generation, when writing about the moods of the various writers in Latvia during the period of 1956 through 1958 compared the writers to a herd of cattle that comes out to pasture after a hard winter. Not only the young, but also the old writers, well-tempered by experience, could not keep from boundless rejoicing. They began elevating the bourgeois poets above themselves and forgetting the vitriolic attacks of those writers against the socialist ideas. They yearned to hear the far-off sirens of Western Europe and forgot about their decadence.

The fact that Upyts' article, which was originally printed in Moscow's *Literaturnaja Gazeta*, was reprinted in its Lithuanian counterpart *Literatūra ir Menas* indicates that the Lithuanian writers, artists, and historians displayed a similar mood. If formerly during Stalin's reign, the cultural life of the Soviet Union seemed to be very uniform and monolithic, as the entire society, then after de-stalinization, cultural life took on a more vigorous turn, began to expand in all directions and sometimes without direction. A young Lithuanian critic Algimantas Radzevičius wrote about "those important subterranean processes, which already for several years are going on in the entire multi-national soviet literature, experiencing a period of great, sharp breaks, searchings, the rebirth and reactivation of creative thought."<sup>6</sup>

One area where this searching was prominent as was indicated, concerned the questions of cultural heritage and national uniqueness. In effect, this called for a definition of the Lithuanian national character and its manifestations in the creativity of the nation. The unique features of the nation, obviously can be derived only from the cultural heritage created through the ages. The uniqueness of the nation on the other hand, cannot be determined by an examination of the realities of the present, since the soviet system tends to discredit much that is truly national and emphasizes the uniform and newly created cultural patterns of the soviet society. One is reminded of A. Tvardovski, talking to the Third Congress of Soviet Writers (Spring, 1959), when he protested the excessive uniformity of cultural life. He compared the soviet life to the Village of G. Upenski, where all the peasants wrote one and the same letter. Or one is struck also by the fact that the protests against the United States after the wrecking of the Paris Conference were written in the same words by the President of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and by the worker in a cement factory in Lithuania. The point is that soviet life is monolithic, a fact which is antithetical to a free discussion of cultural heritage and national uniqueness and which makes the answers to cultural questions especially difficult and uncertain.

Having in mind the monolithic way of life and the resultant difficulty of solving the questions of cultural heritage and national uniqueness, we cannot underestimate the significance of the fact that during the last years so wide discussions of the problem of culture were permitted. It is even more significant that at least in the beginning the Communist Party of Lithuania not only tolerated but also inspired such discussions. The Lithuanian First Secretary Antanas Sniečkus speaking to the Tenth Congress of the Party (February, 1958), stated: "While exposing the bourgeois order, we communists value greatly all that was created in various areas of life by the Lithuanian nation during the bourgeois years... Any nihilism concerning the heritage of the Lithuanian literature and art of the past and of folk art is foreign to us... we cannot also tolerate the behavior of those workers (functionaries), far removed from life, who are skeptical in such questions as the development of national cadres, the use of native language, etc... Nihilistic views toward national unique features, disregard of these features, as well as the one-sided amplification of these unique features is nothing else but a distortion of proletarian internationalism, a surrender to bourgeois influences." As if to show the sincerity of his pronouncements, on June 24th of that year, Sniečkus took part in the traditional and highly nationalistic ceremonies of St. John's Feast on historical Rambynas hill.

What Sniečkus sanctioned at the 1958 Party Congress had been already done by writers, art and culture historians, and cultural workers in general who needed no incentive from the Party. Many classics of Lithuanian literature, works of numerous nationalist writers and people of the Lithuanian national movement at the end of the nineteenth century, were published in large order. Works of such nationalist or even idealist writers as Maironis, Zemaitė, Sruoga, Krėvė, Vaižgantas appeared in the bookstores. A young communist critic, L. Gineitis, interestingly and significantly attacked those bourgeois critics who negatively valued the work of Maironis, the poet laureate of Lithuania and the most celebrated Lithuanian exponent of patriotic and nationalistic verse. In an introduction to a collection of Maironis' poems for school use, Gineitis wrote: "The soviet people in nurturing their spirit with the best artistic achievements of the past adopted much from Maironis poetry."<sup>8</sup> A communist-educated young drama critic J. Lankutis wrote in 1958: "The true spirit of a nation and its national culture can be understood not from a priori schemes, not by illustratively expressed thinking of this or that author, but from life-like, objective characters that were nurtured by the sap of national earth."<sup>9</sup> Lankutis' statement must be understood not only in the literal but also in the symbolic sense.

Some went even further than Lankutis by attempting to understand those who collaborated with the Germans during the Second World War or by trying to justify the idealistically nationalistic views of writers like Balys Sruoga.<sup>10</sup>

While the majority (but not all) of the so-called bourgeois writers were rehabilitated, at the same time some of the soviet writers were de-sovietized. This is just about what happened in the evaluation of the work of the most prominent communist woman poet Salomėja Nėris. A soviet critic D. Sauka for example, in his interpretation of Nėris' work and life, failed to mention once the method of socialist realism, even though this method is the only acceptable one in soviet literature.<sup>11</sup> The guardians of the Party line, of course, repaid Sauka with blistering criticism, as well as some others who had allegedly surrendered to the influences of revisionism and bourgeois nationalism.<sup>12</sup>

Despite the vigilance of the Party line guardians, the cultural life since 1953-54 took a more sober course; searchings for truth and attempts to escape propagandism marked the cultural scene. Indicative of the new trend in cultural life is the character of the books published between 1950 and 1955. Works on the questions of Marxism-Leninism declined from 26 in 1950 to 22 in 1955, books on party propaganda declined from 254 to 140. At the same time scientific publications increased from 87 in 1950 to 130 in 1955, literary works increased from 95 to 130, production booklets increased from 242 to 498 and textbooks from 141 to 214.<sup>13</sup> There are reasons to believe that this trend continued after 1955.

The enthusiasm for the study of cultural heritage carried farther and farther into the nation's past. Not only the cultural and literary historians, but also writers, artists, and composers became obsessed with historical themes. The result of it all was an appearance of a luxurious edition of several volumes on folk art, an album of Vilnius architecture, chrestomathy of Lithuanian literature, sources of Lithuanian history, studies of the Lithuanian cultural history, two volume work on the history of Lithuanian literature, and a series of monographs about writers and artists of the past. The study of the cultural heritage and the quest for the unique features of the nation were relatively free and enthusiastic.

The discussions of the literary heritage dominated the general discussions on cultural heritage. Indicative of the enormous concern with literary history is a 148 page bibliographic volume which registered all studies and articles on literary history that had appeared between 1945 and 1955.<sup>14</sup> This volume did not include entries for related fields such as history, art, music and other aspects of national culture.

### Three problems of interpreting the national past

It is impossible to enumerate all the problems that arose in the discussions on cultural heritage, problems that were raised by the described cultural views of Marxism-Leninism and the monolithic nature of soviet society. Only several more characteristic cases will be considered.

For some time the Lithuanian cultural workers paid much attention to the preservation and restoration of cultural and historical monuments.<sup>15</sup> Contemporaneously large construction projects,



V. PETRAICIUS

A GIRL • Painting, 1961

LITHUANUS

especially in Vilnius and Kaunas, were undertaken. Naturally, in planning and executing new construction the question of architectural style arose. For several reasons, not the least important being the monumental style of soviet architecture and the nationalistic motives of the architect, the new buildings are too often extreme imitations of the classical architectural style. J. Minkevičius, one of the more prominent soviet architects recently protested against this extreme classicism in architecture. Minkevičius ties the question of architectural traditions with the problem of national character. In his opinion, imitation of old architectural styles does not mean a development of a unique national architectural style since the old styles were not always Lithuanian creations and often came from the West. He suggests greater imitation of the Lithuanian "folk architecture" which never was of static character. Minkevičius wrote: "Not the transformation of past styles and forms but a critical and creative application of their progressive principles, capable of raising the quality of contemporary architecture, must be that bridge that joins the old Lithuanian architecture and the new architecture of the soviet epoch."<sup>16</sup> Professor J. Jurginis, Director of the Institute of History in the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, took an opposite position and propagated the imitation of the old classical architectural traditions.<sup>17</sup> Without judging which of the two positions are correct it must be noted, however, that such arguments concerning the style of modern architecture show the seriousness with which problems of cultural heritage and national specificity are considered in contemporary Lithuania.

The search for a synthesis of the past and the present, which was propagated by J. Minkevičius in architecture, manifested itself in literature and art in the so-called "unitary current" theory. From various official statements on the unitary current theory one gathers that it is considered to be one of the most dangerous heresies in the cultural life, similar to revisionism and bourgeois nationalism in political life. What this theory means was defined by the First Secretary A. Sniečkus as early as 1954, when he spoke to the Second Congress of the Lithuanian Soviet Writers: "The essence of this 'theory' consisted of the denial of class struggle and the affirmation of 'national unity' under the conditions of the bourgeois system."<sup>18</sup> In other words, the propagators of the unitary current theory of literature and art are those who view the nation organically, free of class contradictions, and consider all creative objects as being a result of the entire nation as such and not of some social or political part of it. As such, they ignore Lenin's thesis of two cultures in every nation and consider the course of national history and culture without regard to the Russian Revolution or to the institution of the soviet regime in Lithuania.

The soviet regime naturally cannot agree with such views. The regime would like to convince them that the Revolution of 1917 and its transplantation to Lithuania in 1940 created completely new (and better!) conditions for the development of Lithuanian culture. Nobody should forget this! The regime would like to classify the writers into proletarian-revolutionary writers who fought and still are fighting for the soviet order and into the bourgeois writers who did not and do not want to comprehend the wisdom and originality of the soviet system. The regime equally attacks those contemporary writers who in portraying present life, somehow are incapable or do not want to conceive and represent this wisdom and originality of the soviet order. The regime would like to divide Lithuanian cultural history into two clearly defined periods: the pre-soviet period and the soviet period which allegedly gave birth to a new man and his new culture.

Of course, the regime would not want to write off everything created in the pre-soviet epoch as wholly contemptible and insignificant, from which nothing can be adopted. This is what makes the reign of Khrushchev different from that of Stalin. Nevertheless, the regime would like everyone to feel and express sharply the difference between the bourgeois and the soviet periods. When the analysts of cultural heritage and national uniqueness ignore this difference, they are accused of propagating the heresy of the "unitary current." For example, when the literary critic Vytautas Kubilius maintained that some of the contemporary writers are continuing the literary traditions started in the bourgeois period, he was immediately accused of disseminating the "unitary current" theory.<sup>19</sup> The same critique could be also applied to architect J. Minkevičius who, as previously stated, is searching for a synthesis and continuity of various architectural styles. One may talk about literary and cultural heritage, but one is not permitted to speak of literary and cultural traditions and their uninterrupted continuity from bourgeois to the soviet period. Such a view of traditions in general is considered as anti-soviet and un-Marxist.

The charge of the unitary current heresy is applied only to the interpretations of history and culture of the nations in the Soviet Empire, with the exception of the Russian nation. No one would dare to accuse the Russian nation of nationalism. In the case of Lithuania, the Lithuanian national movement and nationalism of the second half of the nineteenth century is especially difficult to interpret in terms of Lenin's thesis of two cultures and Marx's idea of class struggle. Almost any interpretation can easily lead to the deviations of the "unitary current" theory. Perhaps this is the reason why the sources of Lithuanian history have not been published so far,



although the rest of Lithuanian history has been already covered.

Before Stalin's death, the national movement was practically ignored by the Lithuanian historians. Disregarding the principal features of the national movement, they usually emphasized the development of Lithuanian socialism which coincided with the climax of the national movement. Even the socialist history produced problems, since Lithuanian socialism was an integral part of the national movement. The socialist movement had to be de-nationalized.

After the partial de-stalinization, the Lithuanian First Secretary himself called for a Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the national movement and its leaders.<sup>20</sup> Unfortunately, the Marxist-Leninist principles in evaluating the national part were vague and ambiguous. Neither Marx nor Lenin had specifically considered Lithuania. So the practical problem was in finding a way to explain the Lithuanian national movement without resorting to nationalistic conceptions. As is known, the so-called bourgeois historians explained the national movement as a movement of the entire Lithuanian nation, not just some part or class of it. And they probably were right since until the end of the nineteenth century the movement was truly national and united. It is true that there were the liberal democratic wing, represented by the intelligentsia around the first Lithuanian newspaper *Aušra* (The Dawn), *Varpas* (The Bell), and a more conservative clerical wing, represented by the Catholic intelligentsia. Yet both wings were equally nationalistic and equally determined to create an autonomous Lithuanian state. If there was any schism in the nation, it was between the polonized gentry and clergy and the Lithuanian intelligentsia and the peasantry. The most thorough investigator of this period, Mykolas Roemeris thought even these differences to be insignificant and not really contradictory.<sup>21</sup> The point is that any historian who tried to find two cultures or even two class-bound movements in the cultural life of nationally re-awakening Lithuania is bound to meet with failure.

Yet, despite the difficulties, the soviet historian is bound by Lenin's thesis of two cultures and must do everything to describe the national past in Lenin's terms, no matter how difficult or impossible it might be. If we analyze the second volume of the *History of Lithuanian Literature*,<sup>22</sup> published in 1958, it is apparent that its authors tried very hard to be Marxist and Leninist. The results were far from conclusive. A Lithuanian cultural historian, J. Butėnas, reviewing this volume, wrote: "It is of the utmost importance to elucidate correctly the national emancipatory movement. The development of the literature in the last two decades of the nineteenth century is closely related to the rise of the national emancipatory movement, which was pictured and explained by the bourgeois literary historians, em-

phasizing it too much, separating it from the entire Russian revolutionary movement and from the struggle of the workers' class. The national emancipatory movement, though it has been called by various names, was always used by bourgeois nationalists for the dissemination of the "unitary current" theory, for the denial of class struggle within the Lithuanian nation."<sup>23</sup>

It is the opinion of J. Butėnas that the authors of the above-mentioned history of literature did discover the existence of class conflict in Lithuania. Actually, however, neither Butėnas nor the reading of the history points out the allegedly existing class conflict. It is true that the history does try to find and reveal the revolutionary elements in the works of such realistic writers as J. Mečys-Kėkštas, J. Bilūnas, and Jovaras. But according to the authors, only Julius Janonis (1896-1917) was "the first Lithuanian poet whose work was based on Marxist principles and was dedicated consciously to the cause of the proletariat revolt."<sup>24</sup> But J. Janonis began to write only on the very eve of the revolution of 1917. It is also true, furthermore, that the authors of the history of literature strive to emphasize the conflict between the rich and the poor, between the landed gentry and the citizenry, between the czarist oppressors and the Lithuanian nation at the time of the renaissance of Lithuania as a nation. But were not similar attempts made by some of the more extreme nationalists such as J. Šliūpas, V. Kudirka, J. Basanavičius, A. Jakštas, Valžgantas, J. Maironis and others? Their views were later moderated by the more objective and less radical historians of Lithuanian culture and literature, namely M. Roemeris, the brothers Biržika, V. Mykolaitis and others, not excluding J. Butėnas himself. The question now arises whether the authors of the *History of Lithuanian Literature*, apprehensive about being accused of propagating the "unitary current" heresy, did not fall into the pitfall of those extreme and uncritical nationalists and whether they did not go even further regarding the concept and meaning of nationalism than the very bourgeois nationalists whom they condemn so strongly. Or, careful of avoiding the influence and taint of the West and of cosmopolitanism, did they begin again to worship primitive nationalism, a flaw which the investigators of Lithuanian culture and literature during the years of her independence had managed to escape? Some of their interpretations and explanations, for example, of the anti-German poems of Maironis, are quite obviously colored by such primitive nationalism.

#### The suppressive society and the rise of primitive nationalism

There can be no question that great dangers to the soviet regime mark the road of the search for cultural heritage and national unique features.

The dangers, however, are not entirely what the masters of cultural life think they are. It is understandable that the leaders in Kremlin are concerned deeply in preserving the unity of the Soviet Union. In their view, any divisive influence must be immediately condemned. It may be granted that their concern with revisionism and national communism as the most explosive forces threatening to destroy the Soviet Union from within is warranted. However, it is impossible to agree with the Lithuanian First Secretary A. Sniečkus that the use of "bourgeois conceptions in evaluating cultural heritage and history" by the bourgeois nationalists as an ideological weapon constituted a dangerous nationalistic deviation.<sup>25</sup> Actually, Sniečkus and his superiors in Moscow should search for the roots of revisionism and national communism not in the conceptions of bourgeois nationalism but in that primitive nationalism which was fostered during Stalin's reign in Russia and which is now being cultivated in the other captive nations of the Soviet Union and beyond its borders. Not the so-called bourgeois nationalism, which is really humanistic, enlightened, and based on the principles of freedom and equality, but the primitive nationalism, which is an absolute expression of national egotism and of the hate of everything foreign, constitutes the conditions favorable for revisionism and national communism.

In glancing at Lithuania in the past several years, it is easy to see many manifestations of this primitive nationalism. In 1959, before the Eleventh Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party, A. Sniečkus expressed concern over primitive nationalism. He attempted to analyze the historical conditions that give rise to various nationalistic "superstitions", as he expressed it. He said: "We know that nationalistic superstitions are very tenacious... The national suppression which for a long time oppressed the Lithuanian nation during the years of Czarist rule, the slow formation of industrial proletariat in Lithuania provided favorable conditions for the penetration of nationalistic spirit into the mind of the working people, into all areas of cultural and political life. The Lithuanian bourgeois, the Lithuanian bourgeois nationalists, seeking to strengthen the exploitative order, seeking to fracture the international unity of the working people, actively vaccinated these harmful illusions on the working people. During the period of bourgeois dictatorship, Lithuanian bourgeois nationalists, seeking to conceal from the masses that the Lithuanian bourgeois state serves the exploitative classes,...attempted to create an outward illusion that this bourgeois state is "Lithuanian national, independent (state)."

The consequences of these historical circumstances are being still felt today. Among some strata of the working people, especially the intelligentsia, these still manifest the tendencies to exaggerate the significance of unique national

features and all this in turn encourages national separatist views."<sup>26</sup>

Ironically, while condemning the historical circumstances that gave rise to nationalistic "superstitions", the soviet regime is itself creating the conditions that can lead only to primitive nationalism. One cannot struggle against nationalistic "superstitions" by eliminating the teaching of Lithuanian history as a separate subject, by an artificial vaccination of proletarian internationalism which really means the glorification of the Russian nation, or even by a return to the crude Stalinist practice of mixing nations. As Sniečkus himself expressed, exactly such suppressive policies aid the growth and flourish of various "superstitions", including primitive nationalism. Neither



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the so-called bourgeois nationalism, nor the alleged foreign influences or intrigues are responsible for the rise of primitive nationalism in the Soviet Union. Rather the policy of national suppression and Russian chauvinism and the nature of a closed society are responsible in great part for such development. The road from primitive nationalism to a sincere and conscientious friendship of nations is through a sober and enlightened exploration of cultural heritage and national identity, through cultural intercourse with other nations, through education in a humanistic spirit, but not through national suppression and cultural hegemony of the ruling nation over its colonies.

At one time there were indications that the Soviet Union might follow a liberal cultural policy. Unfortunately, as in other areas of life, she seems to be haunted by an unfortunate destiny. Lenin's words that were directed against his enemies seem to have turned against the Soviet Union itself since for every forward step she must take two steps backwards.<sup>27</sup>

#### NOTES

1. Vladas Mordūginas, *Vilniaus Etudai* (The Etudes of Vilnius, 1958).
2. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.
4. Pergalė (The Victory), 1959, No. 1, p. 101.
5. Resolutions of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the Report of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.
6. Lietuvos TSR Mokslų Akademija, *Lietuvių Kalbos ir Literatūros Institutas, 1957 Metų Lietuvių Tarybinė Literatūra* (Institute of Lithuanian Language and Literature, Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences, Lithuanian Soviet Literature of 1957), J. Lankutis, ed., Vilnius, 1958, p. 50.
7. Tiesa ("Pravda"), Feb. 13, 1958, pp. 4-5.
8. A. Jonynas, ed. *Maironio Rinktiniai Raštai* (Selected Writings of Maironis), Vilnius, 1956, vol. I, p. 48.
9. Jonas Lankutis, *Lietuvių Dramaturgija* (The Lithuanian Drama), Vilnius, 1958, p. 153.
10. See, for example, Pergalė, 1957, No. 12, pp. 74-90.
11. D. Sauka, *Salomėjos Nėries Kūryba* (The Works of Salomėja Nėris), Vilnius, 1957.
12. See the critique of Sauka's interpretation of S. Nėris in Tiesa, March 22, 1959, p. 3; for attack on other literary critics for their alleged deviation to bourgeois nationalism and aestheticism see *Komunistas*, April, 1959, p. 33.
13. Lietuvos TSR Knygų Rūmai, *Lietuvos TSR Spaudos Statistika, 1940-1955* (Chamber of Books in Lithuanian SSR, Press Statistics for the Lithuanian SSR), Vilnius, 1957, pp. 60-61.
14. Lietuvos TSR Mokslų Akademija, *Lietuvių Kalbos ir Literatūros Institutas, Tarybinė Lietuvių Literatūra ir Kritika, 1945-1955, Bibliografija* (Soviet Lithuanian Literature and Criticism, 1945-1955, a Bibliography), E. Stanevičienė, ed., Vilnius, 1957.
15. This is evident, for example, from the following works: K. Šešelgis, ed. *Valstybinės Lietuvos TSR Architektūros Paminklų Apsaugos Metraštis* (Yearbook of the State Maintenance Inspection of the Architectural Monuments of the Lithuanian SSR), Vilnius, 1958; R. Volkaitis - Kulikauskienė, *Lietuvos Archeologiniai Paminklai ir jų Tyrinėjimai* (Archeological Monuments of Lithuania and their Exploration), Vilnius, 1958.
16. *Literatūra ir Menas* (Literature and Art), 1959, No. 31, p. 2.
17. *Literatūra ir Menas*, 1959, No. 27, p. 4.
18. Tiesa, Sept. 12, 1954, p. 2.
19. For Kubilius' views see Pergalė, 1957, No. 12, p. 8; for his critique—*Komunistas*, April, 1959, p. 33.
20. Tiesa, Feb. 13, 1958, p. 5.
21. M. Roemeris, *Litwa*, Lvov, 1907.



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22. Lietuvos TSR Mokslų Akademija, *Lietuvių Kalbos ir Literatūros Institutas, Lietuvių Literatūros Istorija* (A History of Lithuanian Literature), V. Korsakas, ed., Vilnius, 1958, vol. II.

23. Pergalė, 1959, Nr. 5, p. 133.
24. *Lietuvių Literatūros Istorija*, vol. II, p. 543.
25. Tiesa, March 2, 1960, p. 4.
26. Tiesa, Jan. 15, 1959, pp. 5-6.

27. Since this article was written (end of 1960), there appeared a number of signs, the new Party Program being the most prominent, which indicate a return to the Stalinist policy of denationalizing the nations in the Soviet empire. The call for a development of a unitary soviet culture for the entire Soviet Union in practice means the adaptation of Russia's cultural forms and content by the various nations of the Soviet Union. This policy can only intensify Russia's primitive nationalism and the reaction to it among the nations of the Soviet Union.

# INTERNATIONAL DEMOCRACY OR IMPERIALISM

## A Discourse

*Comments on J. Maritain's "Genuine Principle of Nationalities"*

Juozas GIRNIUS

The idea of democracy has as its basis not only the freedom of an individual, but the freedom of nations as well. There can be no freedom of an individual without national freedom, because in an enslaved nation freedom is not possible. Consequently, the idea of a national state evolved only after being kindled by the ideals of democracy. Notwithstanding the fact that the French Revolution was political and not national in character, proclaiming man's and citizen's rights, it was during the Revolution that the question of national rights came forth. "Nations and States, taken as individuals, have the same natural rights," states the constitution of 1790. The idea of freedom of an individual had quite naturally a rousing effect in setting forth the idea of national freedom. The abstractly conceived state was changed into a national state. This idea in the 19th century instigated a series of national revolutions and dominated the unification movements in both Germany and Italy. Although many national uprisings (Lithuanian - Polish, Hungarian and others) were crushed, the idea of national freedom took roots in the consciousness of mankind. It was the principle of national self-determination, proclaimed during World War I by the Allies that became the basis of an equitable peace after the war. W. Wilson's 14 points were one of the most important factors in the creation of a community of free nations. Ultimately, when Germany and Austro-Hungary lost the war, and Czarist Russia disintegrated, formerly enslaved nations regained their freedom and proclaimed their independent statehood. After World War II, the idea of national freedom was transferred to Asia, and in our day it is changing the map of Africa. Meanwhile, Soviet Russia, under the cover of communistic internationalism, is pursuing the old policies of Czarist Russia, by having enslaved the nations of Eastern Europe.

The goals of Russian imperialism should not surprise anyone, since the shield of communistic internationalism does not change its imperialistic aims. However, what has really surprised the enslaved people was the silence with which the Free World has accepted the betrayal of the Atlantic Charter. Today it is not unusual to look with indifference at the enslavement of these old European nations. Furthermore, diplomatic expressions as "Russian security interests" are being applied as if the enslaved nations have threatened the

security of Russia. Even the ongoing "cold war" has failed to arouse demands for the freedom of these nations in the Western World. So far, leaders of the West have successfully avoided these questions, while the press and textbooks already consider these enslaved nations to be a part of the Soviet Empire. Moreover, the same intellectuals who have ardently protested against fascism and nazism, with very few exceptions, remain silent today. It is rather unusual that this attitude is typical among the intellectuals who in the past have always represented the conscience of the world. But the fact remains that during the last fifteen years in the United Nations, not a single nation raised the question of the enslavement of the Baltic nations. Without any doubt, such a prevailing opportunistic attitude necessitates further investigation.

Since fascism and nazism were based upon nationalism, the idea of a national state fell into disrepute. Consequently, it is not unusual to look with certain disapproval towards the aspirations for freedom of the small nations. Although freedom of nations is not denied openly (not even the adherents of dictatorships dare to deny it) there is a tendency to repudiate the principle of national self-determination and to look for other means of safeguarding the freedom of nations. It becomes utmostly paradoxical when ideas against the national state are advocated in the name of democracy, notwithstanding the fact that it was this very same democratic principle which kindled a longing for freedom among the various nations.

One should be used to the "realism" of politicians, namely their sophistic wisdom, meaning lofty sentiments and brutal egotism. Actually, the politicians of both the East and the West use the same lofty phrases, but words are not deeds and Soviet talk about equal freedom among the nations in its empire is a purported lie. At the same time, Western democracies lack sincerity in their concern about the enslaved nations. Therefore, instead of supporting the enslaved nations in their fight for freedom, they silently shy away.

After World War II when many nations were enslaved, including my own, I thought that I was used to the so called "realism" of the politicians. However, when I came across a book called *Man and the State*<sup>1</sup> by J. Maritain, where the French philosopher either consciously or unconsciously attempts to equate the principle of national self-



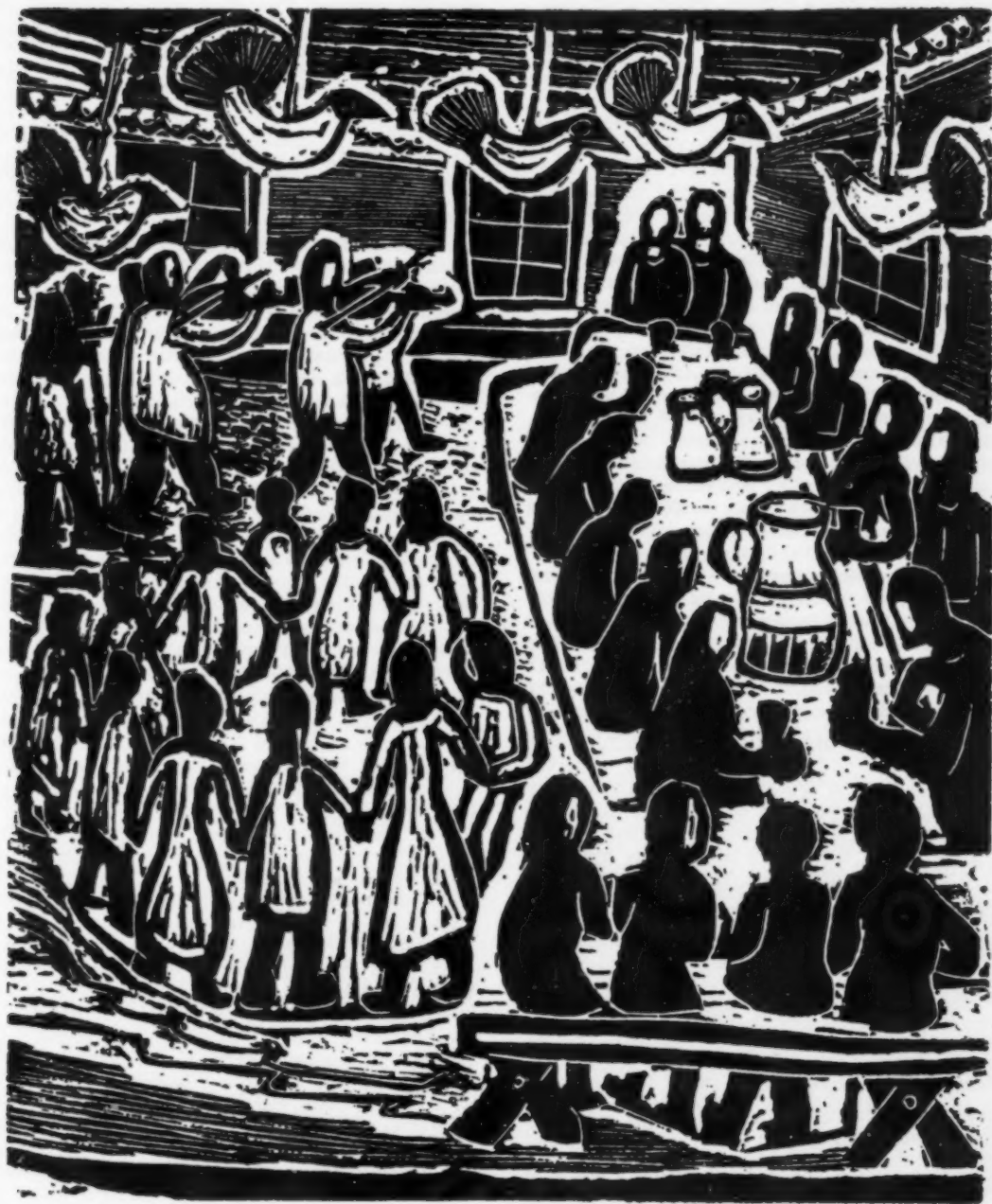
determination with the principle of totalitarian nationalism, I was shocked. The first part of this book is devoted to the development of the relationship between nation and state. J. Maritain, the author, is a well known Catholic philosopher, as well as a sensitive intellectual, who lived through the rigors of exile during World War II. At that time, he warned the French nation not to be misled by the Nazi vision of "Unified Europe". Although I value highly the above mentioned work for its efforts to widen the democratic consciousness, nevertheless, I can not help but question his views concerning the relationship between nation and state. His conclusions concerning the matter lead to a justification of imperialism and to a denial of international democracy. J. Maritain undertakes to show "how serious have been, for modern history, the confusion between Nation and State, the myth of the National State, and the so-called principle of nationalities understood in the sense that each national group must set itself as a separate state."<sup>2</sup> According to Maritain, national state leads to an etatical totalitarianism, at the same time changing the nature of both the nation and the state. Having in mind "the myth of national state", he further proclaims: "The trouble began in the democratic theatre, during the XIX century. It came to full madness in the anti-democratic reaction of the present century."<sup>3</sup>

Is it true that we have to look at the 19th century struggle for national liberation as if it were "trouble in the democratic theater"?<sup>4</sup> Is it true that the national state constitutes a basis for totalitarianism? The national state "has wrenched both Nation and State out of shape."<sup>5</sup>

Maritain begins the analysis of the relationship between nation and state by stating that the nation is a community and the state a society. These terms he takes in the same context in which they were differentiated and made popular by Ferdinand Tönnies. Only the German sociologist had a tendency to value community much higher than society for its natural vitality; whereas the French philosopher has an opposite view of the matter. The same rationality which for F. Tönnies implied a utilitarian motive, for Maritain it proved that society is a higher principle than community because it does not constitute nature, but a conscious will. In part, Maritain agrees that "both community and society are ethico-social and truly human, not mere biological realities."<sup>6</sup> However, he also finds that "a community is more a work of nature and more nearly related to the biological; a society is more a work of reason, and more nearly related to the intellectual and spiritual properties of man."<sup>7</sup> Furthermore he categorically states that, "the community is a product of instinct and heredity in given circumstances and historical framework; the society — a product of reason and more strength."<sup>8</sup> If, "the community springs up from nature," therefore, "the society springs up from human freedom."<sup>9</sup>

Having so categorically assigned community to nature and society to the spirit and freedom, J. Maritain has also to separate nation from state. If community is a "product of instinct and heredity," then nation is a biological concept. However, Maritain himself maintains that "the nation is not something biological, like the Race." It is something ethico-social.<sup>10</sup> How can "something ethico-social" be a "product of instinct and heredity"? Whatever is ethical is not a product of nature but a product of freedom and spirit. Nevertheless, in keeping with his theoretical scheme, Maritain finds the nation to be lower than the state, and he, therefore, states that a nation "does not cross the threshold of the political realm."<sup>11</sup> The basis of a state can only be the political society, or "the body politic." Although, "the idea of the body politic can arise in the bosom of a national community," nevertheless the national community "can only by a propitious soul and an occasion for that blossoming. In itself the idea of the body politic belongs to another superior order."<sup>12</sup>

Is it true that a nation as a community belongs to the lower order as compared to state? First of all, we can not make strict distinctions between such concepts as community and society, as was done by both Tönnies and Maritain. The sociologists of today understand this distinction between community and society not as a difference between two substantially different social groupings, but as two ideal types existing in the field of social intercourse. Community is a word describing a natural relationship, while the word society describes an organizational relationship. In reality, however, these two relationships can neither be set apart from each other nor be opposed to each other. On the one hand, the community groups cannot get along without certain organizational or formal elements such as ceremony, tradition, etc.; on the other hand, the formal societies do not exclude the possibility of communal relationships. For example, the bond between members of an ideological youth organization can be just as intimate as the bond between simple school friends. Thus, there is no principal difference between community and society, rather community is a basis for society to develop. On the other hand, society, being an organizational unit, does not deny disinterested sympathy which is peculiar to community type relationships. Organizational forms through societal development project the community relationships in an objective manner as well as enlighten the emotion of sympathy through a consciousness of duty. It is a peculiar fact that every community organizes itself in one fashion or another and supports the emotional bonds with institutions. For instance, a family is the most intimate society, which is guided by a man's love for his wife, or children's love for their parents. At the same time, a family is also an institution regulated by customs and dictated by laws. A religious community begets its organizational form by



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ILLUSTRATION FOR A LITHUANIAN  
FOLK STORY • Wood-cut, 1938

organizing itself into a church. Professional community is a basis for professional societies. Accordingly, the terms "community" and "society" do not denote two separate groups or species, but only two forms of relationships to be met within all groups. In every group there is some amount of communal feeling depending, of course, on the inner closeness or solidarity of its members. It is also true that every group embodies certain organizational aspects depending on how active this group is as an organizational unit.

If it is impossible to differentiate social groups into "pure communities" and "pure organizations", it is also hardly possible "to parcel" man into nature and spirit, instinct and mind, etc. Man is a full being in his every manifestation. Being a spiritual entity, a man does not remain in every case, only in the biological plane. In his entire being a man remains always a man and not an "animal" at one time and a "mind" at another. M. Merleau-Ponty makes good observation regarding the classical definition of man as a "thinking animal", by saying that this definition is only partly correct, since "the emergence of mind and of spirit does not leave untouched the sphere of instinct."<sup>13</sup> Therefore, there are no social groups based exclusively on instincts and heredity. Every social group reflects man's entire being. There is no basis for holding lower those groups where the "community" traits are more distinct, or for holding higher those groups where the "society" traits predominate. Every social group is equally human.

The uncritical acceptance of community and society distinctions (the parceling out concrete reality through ideal types) constitutes an obstacle for Maritain and does not permit him to understand correctly the relationships between nation and state. When community and society are considered to be two different entities, then the state is separated from the nation; and when community is held to be a lower entity and society a higher one, then the nation is valued lower and the state higher. Such a separation of community and society and of nation and state is not supported by the reality of the situation, but only by making absolute, in an illegal manner, several semantic distinctions of terms. The entire man is presented in the nation as well as in the state. It is incorrect to imagine that the lower side of man belongs to the nation and the higher to the state. Such a conclusion does not follow from the fact that a nation forms itself, while a state is formed, in a rational manner. Having been formed spontaneously, a nation is an archetypal community, but not a lower spiritual entity. If a nation is "something ethico-social," it is not because it is a "product of instinct". The archetypal community, i.e., a nation is a community in the full human sense. It is not motivated by instinctive sympathy, but by spiritual and moral ties. Moral norms do not evolve with the state; the state through its laws only clarifies these norms in an

objective manner. The state not only brings out the objective sense of moral norms through its regulations (by the use of law), but also makes the community ties more objective through its juridical organizations. With the creation of a state, a nation begets its organizational form. Thus, the French jurist A. Esmein was fully correct when he defined a state as a personification of a nation through law.

Instead of connecting state with nation, Maritain connects the state with "body politic", in other words, with a political society which "required by nature and achieved by reason is the most perfect of temporal societies."<sup>14</sup> Maritain wants to preserve the concept of state free from absolutism and etatism. He is entirely right when he says that a state, "is not a man or a body of men, it is a set of institutions combined into a top-most machine," therefore it is "an agency entitled to use power and coercion and made up of experts and specialists in public order and welfare. It is an instrument in the service of man."<sup>15</sup> As such an instrument, "the state is a part which specializes in the interest of the whole."<sup>16</sup> This means that a state is not the society political itself; it is only a part of it, although a part higher than other parts, but still subordinate to the whole. "The state is inferior to the body politic as a whole, and is at the service of the body politic as a whole."<sup>17</sup>

I should agree with Maritain's thesis which elucidates the main principle of democracy saying that a state is created for man and not the other way around. Nevertheless, I am faced with a question of how the political society or the "body politic" is created?

In the formal juridical sense, the political society is the sum of its citizens. All the citizens should be equal in the eyes of the state. Therefore, from juridical point of view, we have to differentiate political society from the nation, obligating the state to provide equal care for all of its citizens. Does this deny the essential bond between nation and state? Political society or the "body politic" is not made up of abstract individuals. In reality, there are no abstract individuals, only people who belong to this or that nation. This or that nation also provides a basis for the creation of a certain state. Each state is founded with one nation as its basis — even if it manages to enslave more nations. Only in this case, the other nations are made subservient. This historical experience has raised the principle of a national state, recognizing the right of all nations to assure their independence by forming their own independent states.

It is wrong to connect the national state with an "anti-democratic reaction," for the idea of a national state evolved together with the idea of a democratic state. In itself, a national state does not trumpet "an earthly divinity" of a nation, nor does it change a state to "a cultural, ideological,



caesaro-papist, totalitarian state"<sup>18</sup> as Maritain states. It is not the fault of a national state that zoological nationalism, led by absolute egotism has in its name denied the universal principles of morality and law. A democratic state also hides within itself a danger of becoming a tyranny of the masses. Nobody, however, accuses democracy itself on that account. In the same manner there are no grounds to attribute the faults of a boundless nationalism to a national state. In principle, a national state does not seek to become a "cultural, ideological, caesaro-papist, totalitarian." On the contrary, a nation does not coincide with any separate cultural trend, or with any separate ideology. Every spiritual stream which is alive in a nation participates in the creation of a national culture. Being in this sense a pluralistic community, uniting all ideological trends, a nation does not, by any means, urge a state towards totalitarianism. A state becomes totalitarian only when it supports itself not with the whole nation, but with a single separate group which equates itself with the entire nation. The absolutism of a party and not the nation is the basis of state totalitarianism.

After the experiences of fascism and nazism, there are grounds for warning against "the plague of Nationalism." It would not be right, however, while being afraid of nationalism, to close one's eyes against the slavery and genocide being suffered by whole groups of nations. To close one's eyes before this truth, while running away from nationalism, means to become gradually apologetic about imperialism.

Fearing "the plague of Nationalism," Maritain calls the principle of national determination "the so-called principle of nationalities" and changes it to "genuine principle of nationalities," which in fact reflects more concern for a "steady order among peoples"<sup>19</sup> than for an assurance of freedom for nations. For example, "the genuine principle of nationalism would be formulated as follows: the body politic should develop both its own moral dynamism and the respect for human freedoms to such a point that the national communities which are contained within it would both have their natural rights fully recognized, and tend spontaneously to merge into a single, higher and more complex National Community."<sup>20</sup> Is this not an official blessing of what some nations do after conquering other nations? Do all the empires mold their conquered nations into a "single higher and more complex National Community"? Since this cannot be accomplished fully by giving recognition to the rights of nations, these rights are in fact denied. To the ruling nation, such an assimilation of other nations seems a natural and justifiable act. However, to those nations which are assimilated in this manner into a "single higher and more complex National Community," it is a threat not only to their freedom, but also to their existence. When such a principle is proclaimed, one

wonders if only the large nations have the right to be free. Does power alone reassure the right to freedom?

The grounds for Maritain's "genuine principle of nationalities" is his thesis which postulates that a state forms a nation and that a nation does not constitute a foundation for the state. A community can never form itself into a society, on the contrary a society can always give birth to a community. Maritain states that "in reality the national group cannot transform itself into a political society."<sup>21</sup> After a few pages this thesis is generalized more strictly, "the Nation does not become a State. The State causes the Nation to be."<sup>22</sup> This thesis of Maritain makes a common principle out of a few exceptions. Society does not give birth to community; community objectifies itself into some form of society. The inner solidarity which is the main strength of a community is the basis for any formal agreement upon which a society is based. Moral commitment is more important than juridical agreement. The German philosopher and sociologist Max Scheler, therefore, was right in stating that, "there is no society without community, even if in certain cases a community can exist without a society; every possible society is based upon community."<sup>23</sup> This is also valid as far as the relationship of nation and state is concerned. Nation gives birth to state, although in its own turn the state influences the fate of a nation. If a nation creates its own state, it can develop freely. On the contrary, if a nation comes under the rule of a foreign nation, it starts to disintegrate. Even if there is no forced denationalization, national life in a foreign state becomes progressively weaker because it lacks the assurance of a state, which is especially important in the case of small nations. There are exceptional cases where a state originates a nation. Maritain gives examples of his own country, France, and the United States of America. In France the separate ethnic groups were molded into a state before attaining their national consciousness. Similarly in United States, a new nation emerged out of the melting pot of the immigrants from various nations. These examples illustrate Maritain's "genuine principle of nationalities" — the molding process of different national groups into a new national community.

Nevertheless, there being exceptions, these cases do not provide us with a proclamation that the state gives birth to the nation. The enforcement of the "genuine principles of nationalities" makes large states the executors of small nations. We can see this in the Soviet Union. Having proclaimed the freedom of all of its nations, Soviet Union molds them into one Russian nation.

A nation provides a state not only with an actual, but also with a moral basis, because it fosters national brotherhood through the loyalty of citizens. And the states that lack sufficient national support have to support themselves on the basis of sheer force. Such states, through the use of compulsion of the conquered nations, hide with-

in a downfall; the downfall of such states is the dawn of freedom to their conquered nations. No one complains that, according to the words of Maritain, "the Austro-Hungarian double crown created a State but was unable to produce a Nation. Even more assuredly, no one will mourn when the Soviet empire will fall, unable to give birth to a new Soviet nation from all the nations which are forced into a mold under the communist dictatorship.

The idea of a national state does not proclaim a totalitarian state; it proclaims a free state. Without its own state a nation can not be free. An own state is that formation which makes it possible for a nation to be free. Nations which for one reason or another did not create their own states, either desintegrated completely or were suppressed. They could not develop their own national cultures, although some of them gave to the world famous, individual personalities (Basques: M. de Unamuno and St. Ignacius Lojola were well known personalities and members of the Spanish culture). If the Irish would have permitted what they were urged to do, that is, to merge into a single, higher and more complex British Community, and would not have fought for their national life and state independence, then today they would be only a historical curiosity. To recognize nations is to recognize their right to become free states. If a state was separated from a nation, then we would not have to talk about slavery. Nation as a nation (a community of internal ties) can not become enslaved. A nation is enslaved when it is subjugated under a foreign state, and then at the same time it is denied the possibility to organize its own life. National freedom means free national statehood. A free nation in an independent state—this is the authentic principle of nationalities. As all people have a right to freedom, so all nations have a right to live freely. Freedom is not a privilege of big nations.

A different proposition is the concern over the fact that the relations of states should not be based on cynical "realism," but on moral principles, applying equally to large nations and small ones. Another question is the unification of separate states through federal principles assuring freedom to separate nations. Concerning this question J. Maritain offers many valuable suggestions in the last part of his book.

#### NOTES

1 Maritain, J. *Man and the State*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1951.

2 Ibid.

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5 Ibid.

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid.

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9 Ibid.

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13 Merleau-Ponty, M. *La Structure du Comportement*,

3, 1953, 196.

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23 Sheler, Max. *Der Formalismus in der Ethik und die materiale Wertethik*, 4, 1954, 534.

## the art of VIKTORAS PETRAVIČIUS

Paulius JURKUS

Viktoras Petravičius belongs to the group of artists who most significantly contributed to the development and growth of Lithuanian graphic art. This group was educated in the Art Institute of Kaunas and abroad, mostly in Paris. Upon returning to their native land, they enthusiastically began their major creative work.

This generation was greatly influenced by Lithuanian folk art, which already in the 19th century had attracted the attention of neighboring German and Polish artists. This was the time when folk art was rediscovered, when it gained new meaning, vitality, and importance. Lithuanian artists were trying to develop a style which would reflect "The Lithuanian spirit". Folk art became their primary source of inspiration. It was collected, thoroughly examined, and displayed in museums. Several travelling exhibits were organized to introduce Lithuanian folk art to other countries. During that time, most artists were primarily interested in primitive art. Lithuanian folk art, because of its simplicity, boldness, and straightforwardness, gained special recognition, notice, and acclaim. Such acclaim especially affected the young contemporary Lithuanian artists. They devoted much of their time to the study of folk art. Groups were formed, that worked toward a style that would blend the traditions of folk art with the developments of modern art. This gave new impulse to Lithuanian art, and graphic art especially began to flourish.

Taking a particular characteristic of folk art, some artists developed it according to their own interpretation. Others even imitated the old forms of folk wood carvings. Viktoras Petravičius was able to capture the very soul and spirit of folk art. As one views the works he has created, it seems that the past with its old elegantly decorated dowry chests comes to life with a new light, a new glow. The characteristics of the wood cuts of folk art are reflected and illuminated. This is not a copy nor a continuation or



Photo by Vytautas Maželis

extension of the Lithuanian folk art. It is a transformation of the very spirit of Lithuanian folk art into modern form within the framework of Petravičius' own individualistic style.

As if to emphasize and intensify the spirit of the past, Petravičius began illustrating folk stories. In the first phase of his work, he completed two books, carving the illustrations as well as the text on wood blocks.

Although Petravičius' approach to his work is realistic, he stylizes, modifies, and transforms his characters within the realm of fantasy. He solves his creative problems spontaneously. Overtaken by fantasy and his own intense feelings, he abandons detail and concentrates on overall organization and design. In their mood his works sometimes resemble the works of Rouault or Henry Matisse.

In illustrating folk tales, Viktoras Petravičius prefers and enjoys using strong black areas in contrast with the white ones. His creative composition ideas are expressed on a single plane employing thin lines to delineate his figures.

After having worked on story illustrations, his interest turned to farm life. Here he executed a number of works, his former mood still prevailing.

World War II caused his exile from Lithuania. In a German refugee camp his style and subject changed. His works were no longer governed by a world of fantasy but faced frank reality. He represented the harsh times and experiences of the post-war years, the suffering and torment, and the loss of one's native land.

The illustration of Lithuanian folk songs comprises a new cycle. Here, the artist, forgetting the painful themes of post-war life, again enters the pleasant world of fantasy, decorativeness, and ornamentation. At this time he also switches from wood cuts to linoleum block printing, creating prints on a grand scale. This material lends itself to experimentation. The black areas start to disappear, being engulfed by the white ones. Sometimes his composition even takes the form of thin black lines on a completely white background. But mostly, his works consist of balanced black and white planes interlaced with a network of thin-lines.

After coming to the United States and settling in Chicago, Petravičius created a whole line of compositions on religious themes. In some he is impressive, majestic, with much exuberant feeling projecting into Christ's Passion scenes. In others he compresses his lines to a minimum, leaving a strong, definitive white background.

Viktoras Petravičius is also a painter. He devoted special attention to painting in recent years. In this field, he again is spontaneous, bold, passionate, sometimes resembling a Fauvist.

He has created a number of oil paintings on silk. Decorative and ornamentive, they resemble the style of his earlier graphic works.

Viktoras Petravičius was born in 1906 in the village of Bedaliai, Lithuania. In 1938 he was graduated from Kaunas Art Institute and went to Paris to continue his studies. There he attended the Ecole Nationale des Arts et Métiers and Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux Arts being graduated from these schools in 1938.

Petravičius participated in the 1937 International Art Show in Paris and was awarded the Grand Prix. From 1940 - 1943 he held the position of art professor in the Kaunas Art Institute. Petravičius illustrated a series of books in Lithuania, Germany, and America. In 1948 his linoleum-print album was published.

Viktoras Petravičius has been exhibited widely in Europe as well as in America. His exhibitions were held in the following cities: Kaunas, Vilnius, Klaipėda, Riga, Tallin, Rome, Paris, Amsterdam, Brussels, Freiburg, Goettingen, Baden-Baden, Oldenburg, Niagara, Windsor, Chicago, New York, Rochester and Urbana. In 1951 he received the "Art Institute of Chicago Alumnae Association Prize" for his graphic work entitled "In My Native Country."



Viktoras PETRAVICIUS

MY COUNTRY'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM • Lino-cut, 1948

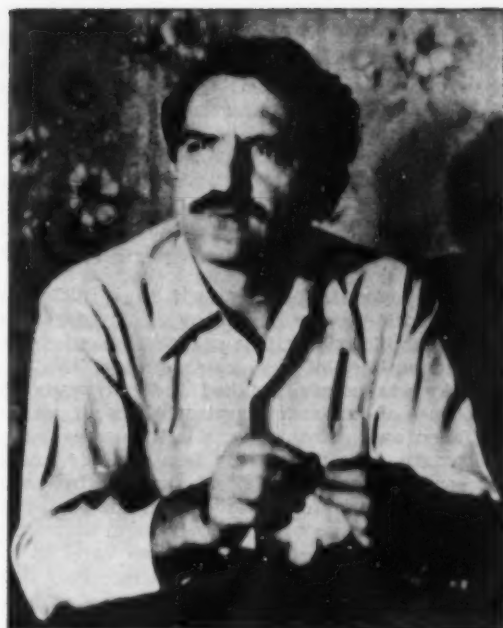


## A CONTEMPORARY WRITER

Marius Katiliškis is one of the strongest, most capable and most talented prose writers that Lithuanian literature in exile has produced. His works integrate all the elements characteristic of Lithuanian letters—from Donelaitis to contemporary authors. Typical is the understanding of the man, the soil, a rich, colorful and depictive style of narration. He has a subjective and personal empathy with the human condition, and an almost mystical communication with nature. His earliest works already demonstrated that his was not an ordinary talent. He was able to uniquely penetrate and capture the essence of man and of the earth. Equally as original was his ability to give form to these essential themes and ideas.

*Seno kareivio grįžimas* (The Old Soldier's Return), was Katiliškis' first book, the manuscript of which was lost in Lithuania during the turmoil of the war. In those short stories he first recreated with his suggestive style. The people he so loved were set against the natural background of their native countryside. The very same people who appear repeatedly in his later novels and stories are simple, hard-working, drab, manipulated, and broken by a harsh and capricious fate. These people felt both joy and sorrow, loved life yet knew how to die; these people feel, suffer, laugh in the same way, for the same reasons as the urbanites, as the intellectuals, because their souls are the same. Only their problems appear different. Indeed, each man is the other's brother. Love is an unwritten but living and vital law; kneeling and rising we are closer to one another than we imagine. Katiliškis advocates this idea of deep humanism and true Christianity in his writings. Yet, he does not preach, he does not philosophize, he advocates it only through the lips and lives of his heroes.

Katiliškis is one of those rare writers who was born to write. *Prasilenkimo valanda* (1948), his second collection of short fiction (awarded a readers' prize) was received very favorably both by the critics and by the public. In it the essential meaning of life is the chief axiom. The nostalgic lyric to a lost land complements and alternates with the bitter sarcasm of disillusion. Katiliškis abhors insincere, false individuals and hypocrisy. Therefore all his sympathy is with the peasant, the worker, the impoverished. Even though he sometimes smiles at some of their more grotesque experiences, he never stands before or above them as a judge. He is and wants to be one of them. He is as familiar with their life as with his own and thus he is able in *Užuovėja* (1952), a novel of short stories, to recreate for his people and his country an unforgettable epoch. His rich vocabulary, his psychological insight and penetration, his dynamic style reach classic finish and perfection in this work. In the first part of a prospective trilogy, in the novel *Miškašs ateina ruduo* (Autumn Comes through the Forests) (1957), Katiliškis continues the creative work begun with such exuberance and oriented towards such far-reaching goals. Masterfully, before our very eyes, he delineates and depicts the pageantry of ex-



MARIUS KATILIŠKIS

istence, and the result in its scope, dimension and validity equals the work of the world's best naturalistic writers.

Katiliškis' most recent book *Išėjusiems negrįžti* (To Those Who Departed Never to Return) (1958), different in style but permeated by the same human warmth, was honored with the award established in the memory of the great Lithuanian classic, Vincas Krėvė. Again the author is not a passive spectator or bloodless commentator. He is a confrère and active participant in the harsh and hopeless struggles and misfortunes of the soldiers; he sleeps with them in the trenches, he helps them carry and support their weary comrades through the blizzard. With them he stands before the flaming shore and awaits the last blow in the last hour of the dreadful war. Together with his drab comrades in misfortune, he stares into the eyes of death and laughs with them that mirthless, unrepeatable laugh of a doomed soldier, which shields and hides him from terror, fear and a stray bullet. Katiliškis bids farewell to his land and knows how to express his love of it better in a few sentences than all of our sentimental patriotic poetry put together.

Katiliškis is not an author who can be translated easily—he is too closely connected with his native land and language. Yet no one found stronger, sharper words than he, no one was able so uniquely, youthfully and agelessly to express the totality of existence in a few scenes. A few dialogues, a few fragments and pieces of everyday reality and life. Katiliškis is a creative writer of whom we are very proud.

Henrikas NAGYS

# ELCH NIEDERUNG

Marius KATILIŠKIS

*Excerpts from a book Išėjusiems negrižti  
(To Those Who Departed Never To Return)*

All at once I found myself in a different world, a world strictly limited by gloomy darkness and insuperable misery. The cold wind harried the wretched outlines of the marsh plants; the autumn sky was painfully naked and unfriendly. It was a place of exhaustion, a place where all yearnings faded away. Nothing was left but weariness. No strength remained in my legs and my knees were bent. The soles of my feet were on fire, as if I had walked barefoot over broken glass. For a time I tried to cling to the row of farm carts, but somehow there were fewer and fewer carts to be seen. There were fewer men on foot too; they had been running in thousands before, but now there were only a few scattered groups. In spite of every effort I could not imagine where all the others were. There was a sense of emptiness and of swirling clouds.

I thought that the people must have scattered by the wayside. They must have gone into the houses for a night's rest or gone away elsewhere. They must have found a refuge of some sort.

To our rear there was noise and thunder. Our group wandered like ghosts in the uncertain glow of a reddish light; each man clung to the next man's hand, so as not to lose the others or fall under the carts. The icy wind from the sea wound itself beneath the flap of my jacket.

What time was it? Had anyone a watch?

They said that it was two o'clock in the morning. Two o'clock. But what morning? That did not matter; the dawn would not begin till after five. So we certainly ought to turn aside into the yard of that beautiful farm house and ask for shelter. There were lights in the windows; so the inhabitants could not be asleep yet. They would let us in.

"Into what yard?"

"That one, over there. Don't you see it?"

"What nonsense you're muttering," said the next man in a reproachful tone.

Was it really true that there was nothing there? Nothing but the marshy plain, overgrown with reeds, and the icy wind from the sea?

We continued our march. My eyelids sagged and there was dust in my eyes. In spite of that I could see clearly and this time there was no doubt about it. No doubt at all about that charming inn, just like you see on postcards. It had a roomy stable for horses and a well; a girl was standing beside the well with a bucket in her hand and her

skirt hitched up. Her skirt was red and white and her blouse hugged her waist as if she were bursting out of it. She smiled as she caught sight of the wayfarers. There was a straw hanging from her teeth. And the whiteness of her teeth, I did not know what to compare it with, but I knew that I had seen just such teeth and just such a smile before. I knew too that the smile had been meant for me. Was it Danguole or flaxen haired Vida or dear Elenute who had smiled for me so enchantingly? Just like this publican's daughter. "Welcome!" she seemed to say, "Come in, please come in. In the dining-room the tables can hardly bear their load of food and my father, the innkeeper, is mixing a bowl of hot punch." Why did we not go in? Surely we were not such greenhorns. Yet we were striding past the stone gateposts, that were decorated with the branching antlers of an elk, for the name of the inn was "Gasthaus zum Elch." I suspected that the regular callers were mostly foresters and huntsmen. Otherwise, why should there be so many horns and heads of wild animals? Skins and claws and foxes' brushes? Not to mention shot-guns, spits and hunting-sticks. It was plain to see. The specialty of the house was hunters' sausages and steaks of wild boars' flesh roasted in an open pot; they must have weighed half a pood and more. There would be enough for us and plenty left for our friends. We had but to go in.

We began to make our way towards the inn...

"Watch your step, you donkey! I'll break your neck."

"All right, gently there. Don't go for me," and I tried to soothe the man next to me.

The poor fellow's feet were as sore as mine and when I trod on them with my iron-studded boot, the pain put him in a very disgruntled humour. Meanwhile my charming inn with the sign of the elk vanished as if it had never been. There was only the bitter west wind, that harried the sedge, and stunted bushes swaying like nooses round the necks of hanging corpses. In my country I had never seen such wretched vegetation, not even in the marshes that we called "Swine Hell" and "Devil's Eye."

We continued our march. We walked shoulder to shoulder, swaying, striking our heads together, falling against the carts and barely escaping in time from in front of the horses' hoofs. There was no choice, we had to go on. We had to get away

from the front, find a peaceful village and rest there. We should find one soon. We had but to go a little further. Or perhaps we were already there? We certainly were. Why not turn aside here, into this splendid all-night restaurant? Let us go right in! There was nothing to wait for. One after another the limousines came zooming in from the road and the gravel screeched beneath their tires. Some people drove up in varnished carriages and the coachmen clove the air with their whips. Ladies in fur coats dismounted from the carriages and, leaning on the arms of their escorts, ascended the terrace, where a well schooled lackey in evening dress and white gloves greeted them and shook hands with each one in turn. On the stage the violinists and the drummers were each tuning their instruments. A gipsy musician from Rumania shook his long tresses; swaying his body, a Hungarian fiddler bowed his plaintive instrument; a bald and well fed German clutched a double-bass, bigger than himself, as if it were a plump girl in a public house. The ear was charmed with the sound of a Viennese waltz. Without more ado I began to sing to the music:

*"See the brunette's bewitching guile!  
Who can resist her tender smile?  
And Magyar wine, like gentle fire,  
Brims o'er the channels of desire."*

Branched candlesticks, lustres, glistening sconces! It was too much; my desires were already overflowing. I wanted to go in with the others and be happy there. After the waltzes they began to play Spanish tarantellas and a real "Dansa Espaniola." Amid the sensuous rattle of the castanets the mantilla of a Spanish senorita came and went, glistening like frost in the moonlight. Her black eyes too. You would give up everything for them and die of grief at having given too little. But now the Hungarian musicians took their turn again, and their magic violins and tambourines struck up a frenzied csardas. If the programme continued at the same speed in the same direction, the next item would be a Caucasian dancer with a dagger sharpened on both sides between his teeth. Or the dance called "The muzhik of Kamarinska." Perhaps a Russian would peep out of a corner with his unkempt tuft of hair, his trousers hanging like sacks and his well-oiled boots.

For us the one thing to do was to go into this excellent night-club. But who would tell whether they would admit such bedraggled soldiers? Why not indeed? "Please come in." People began to go in. The porter bowed till he was bent double, as he let us in, and he took our caps and belts. "Please, do come in." Besides there was a notice, that I had not seen before, hanging at the highest point: "Nur für Soldaten." Hurrah...

"Shut up! Stop screaming like a stuck pig!"

A village lout waves a whip round your head and boasts that he will cut you up like fodder for

the horses. This one was an ill-tempered boor from Klaipėda. What sort of company was this for a journey? I had suggested going into the restaurant and they took no notice. Where was the smart restaurant now? I could not see it. But in an emergency we could make the best of this open space here. There was a wood fire burning and people were frying trout, real trout from the Nemunas. The fish were poised on sharp sticks stuck into the ground; their sides had been slit with a sharp knife and, while frying, they looked like the bellows of an organ. They were so fat and smelled so good. The fat dripped from your fingers. It was warm by the fire. You could turn round to warm your back; then you could lie down on your side in this perfect meadow by the river bank.

Where were the meadows, and the trout over the cheerful fire? Our group, about a score of men, drew together at the side of the path and at once we all collapsed on the ground.

"Don't lie on your backs, you fellows," cried an older man. "Lie on your faces for a bit and then we'll push ahead."

"Why not on your backs?" asked a sceptical young man.

"Pleurisy and pneumonia are certain consequences. The ground is wet and cold. Lie like this on your face, with your hands beneath your stomach and your chest," advised the older man like a father.

The ground was indeed wet and cold. The grass crackled if you happened to touch it with your hand. The grass was frozen, and no wonder in October.

We could not bear it for more than ten minutes. We did not want to perish when we had just crossed the border from our own country and reached Lesser Lithuania, the land of our blood-relations.

At last we found something of real value on this ill-fated journey. The men cried out in confusion and joy. It was a big haycock, piled together and left in preparation against the winter frosts, when it would be carted away for the cows. It was a mound mostly of sage, sword-grass and an evil downy plant that can get into an animal's nostrils and make it sneeze. But we did not pause to consider what sort of hay this was. We attacked and took it by storm; each of us tried to seize a handful of hay on the leeward side. We tore at it with our nails; we each tried to make a nest and go to sleep in it. The main thing was that our sides were dry. But my feet, my poor feet! What could I do with them? I could not remember when I last took my boots off. Perhaps in the golden age of the village of Dagial at least four or five days before. My boots felt like the jaws of a predatory fish; its long teeth had bitten from above and from below right to the bone. I pulled my boots off. Of my socks nothing was left but rags hanging round the joints of my feet.



Oh, but what relief! The breeze cooled my feet, playing around my toes and soothing its way between them... The branches of the willows were swaying; some of them hung down and dragged their tresses in the water. The fish was hissing as it fried and spread an appetizing odour. The eels were exceptionally fat and had been smoked to an unusually good colour. And there was a whole basket of the best crabs in damp moss. They were already cooked, you had only to open their shells like bean-pods. The men were opening the bung of the barrel which our predecessors had left behind. "Your health!" Let us each take three glasses in turn! But you've built the fire up too high with your efforts. If you turn your back to it and hold your hands behind you, it's still too hot. Have you gone out of your mind? Don't pile any more branches on the fire!

But who would take any notice? They simply ran around, beating with their hands and moaning as if their hindquarters were scorched.

"We're on fire!"

A licking tongue of flame lunged out from one side. You could sniff the odor of your singed beard, and right by your eyelashes you felt the heat like breath from the nostrils of a wild beast. The fire began to roar and shot upwards; it struck out on every side, driven by an angry wind, and thick clouds of smoke gushed forth and almost suffocated us. Curses, such as spring from the breast of a man half smothered, mingled with the flames and the smoke. The hay cock crackled like a tarred brand on the night of St. John's fair, lighting up the eerie marsh and the human figures dancing around like Red Indians.

The hay, our only shelter, had to catch fire, as if we had not enough misfortune. I grabbed my boots and hurried away barefoot, howling and bending double from pain when I trod on a sharp juniper twig.

Our group pushed on ahead, though it had suffered irreparable losses in the burning haycock. One man lost his greatcoat, another had lost his haversack with its cherished contents. But I was none the worst. I had no greatcoat. My short-sleeved shirt and my jacket were scarcely big enough for me. Why was the night so bitter that you could not get warm, even though you kept moving with all your strength? I did not know what to do.

It was the fourth night without sleep.

God, when would it end? When would the dawn come at last? Whatever sort of a dawn it might be, the endless night was intolerable. No, I refused to die in darkness like this. I could not die. Besides I was too young and inexperienced for death. My companions somehow tried to pretend that I was a fool. They would not for a moment entertain the idea that I might really be something better than the nightwayfarer I had become. They had no respect for the office of secretary that I had held. They did not even believe that I had been a secretary. Nor did they believe, if

you please, that we had gone past beautiful farm houses and splendid inns and luxurious night-clubs. For all that, they had a cheap explanation, the explanation to be expected of people with no understanding or sympathy for our condition. They said that I had been dreaming. I could have sworn by all the powers in hell to the existence, apart from dreams, of mirages and the fata morgana and even reality, a reality that cannot be confined in any category. Besides can there be no perception of reality without striking a sore and naked foot on a broken brandy-bottle, or without sticking a needle in your thigh or feeling a flame lick at your eyelashes? From the same old fashioned principles it would follow that you cannot be in love with a girl in the next county, for how can your restless fingers fondle her well grown thighs, and how will you kiss her quivering lips, warm from the passion within? Quite the contrary. Reality is something more subtle.

But the utter confusion unnerved us and made us wander without sense. The grey patch in the sky somehow took on a strange form, though at ordinary times you would have recognized it at once for the dawn. The isolated homestead at the crossroads with trees round it and all the outhouses and machinery necessary for a real farm seemed to demand cautious consideration. Even though my companions made joyfully towards it, crowds and crowds of real soldiers were there with chains of carts and horses and even cars. So that as all that was left of a decent man after the journey through the reeds near the seashore. After four nights without sleep, we finally reached the conviction that something more had been lost than a greatcoat and a full rucksack with cigars and a notebook.

There was not much profit or comfort to be had from the farm at the crossroads, when you could not even force a way through to the well. The day that had dawned was exceptionally overcast, and there were suspicious signs in the east like posts. The gigantic streaks in the sky would normally have meant winds, angry autumn winds. This time the portents told me of something rather different, a tempestuous and windswept future. There was no mistaking what the natural phenomena forboded.

A little later we met a group of our own men. We recognized their vehicles; we remembered them from the journey towards Salantai. They had crossed all the bridges without any accident, they had escaped from the firing, but they had no news of the others for whom I was anxious; they did not know where any of my friends could be.

"Man, you're as blue as a plum," shouted one of them, pulling a spare greatcoat out of a vehicle. "Here, put it on."

I was as blue as a ripe plum from cold and hunger. Was there anything to eat? It was a poor plight; there was nothing to put between your teeth. They could only offer cheap Russian tobac-



V. PETRAVICIUS

IN MY NATIVE COUNTRY  
(detail) • Lino-cut, 1948

co; it was like wood-shavings wrapped in cubes of poor paper. I took just a fragment of paper and smoke began to fill my breast and eyes, as if I were about to lose consciousness. There was a sense of something green, fluid and light in the whole atmosphere and in my weary body which was scarcely kept alive by the blood stream. I should have liked to rise up and fly away with the wind.

When day-break was well and truly over, some thirty soldiers crowded round the old, tumbledown cottage. Some were going in, others were pushing their way out, chewing mouthfuls of bread. I went in and stopped by the door, speechless and abashed, for I saw a picture from the title page of "The Sorrows of Young Werther," where Lotte cuts bread for a host of little brothers and sisters. Here an old woman was cutting bread, holding the loaf against her withered bosom and dividing it among the hungry. On the stove a pot was boiling; there was supposed to be coffee in it. Just as in the picture. At first she spread each slice with a fatty substance called lard and put a spoonful of sugar into each coffee-cup. But soon the sugar, the lard and the few loaves of coarse bread came to an end. She was a widow living on

her rations, and she had nothing more in her cottage. Was anything ever more tasty than the cup of hot, dirty water and the crust of dry bread? I had the last one.

The old woman spoke Lithuanian perfectly. By some miracle she was a Catholic among the Lithuanian Lutherans of the neighborhood. She had to travel some thirty kilometres, if she wanted to pray in her own church, for the nearest was in Silute or in her dialect Silokarcilama. When she had given us all she had, and only the bare walls were left, the kindhearted old creature began to look ashamed because she had no more; she hid her hands in her apron and talked to us as if we were her own children. She said she had never seen so many Lithuanian soldiers together in one place. She wondered what would happen, now that the Russians were in Silute; would she be able to go there to church? She had heard that things were very bad since the godless Russian was in occupation.

"Yes, mother," said we, "Very bad, things couldn't be worse, but there's little comfort here, when you've given away your last morsel of bread. Let us take a collection, fellows." Each of us had a handful of marks in his pocket. What use was the tinsel to us? But it might some day be of value to the widow. Now she declined vigorously and protested that she did not need money, that she would not know what to do with so much. Well now, whether she needed it or not, there would be a few hundred marks in the cap, and we shook them out on her bed.

We drew away, turning and blessing the good house. There had been so many houses on the way and so little warmth in them. The bigger and finer the house, the less kindness within. But now was not the time to be surprised at that and loose heart. We should have known it long before.

The policemen at the cross-roads mostly spoke Lithuanian. They were kindly old men of Lesser Lithuania; their faces showed strain and anxiety; all trace of lightheartedness was gone. They did not stop us but waved us on in the direction of the road. The war was left behind us. There was no indication that the Russians had crossed the Nemunas. Probably they had stopped in Silute; the widow would not be able to go there now to pray in her own church. In any case I could not understand how she covered such distances. The past night had been more than a week to me, a whole paragraph of my life. We had gone on and on, and every step had taken me further from my home and my country. Now I could only imagine it as lying somewhere beyond oceans and mountains. The knowledge that everything is closing behind you and in such a way that you cannot and will never unfasten or unlatch it again, paints everything with unique colours, creates new distances and gives everything new names.

*Translated by Rafael SEALEY*

## THE THIRTEENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF LITHUANIA

*The congress of the Communist Party, like the Soviet Constitution, on union and union-republic levels, is descriptive rather than prescriptive. It formalizes decisions accepted elsewhere in the power structure of the Communist Party. Nevertheless, the congress of a union-republic party organization is still a noteworthy event, providing a review of the state of a territorial party organization in all its facets. It reflects the "uneven development" of the territorial and national party organizations in the Soviet Union and indicates the status of sovietization in a particular territory. The proceedings of the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania (CPL) does, indeed, provide an excellent revue of the state of the party and the soviet regime in Lithuania.*

The CPL, ever since its founding by the directives of the Central Committee of the Russian bolsheviks in 1918, has remained in close subordination to the CPSU.<sup>1</sup> Even during the years of Lithuania's independence, 1918-1940, the CPL, with its Political Bureau in Moscow, was dominated directly by the Russian Communist Party, although formally the CPL was a section of and subordinate to the Komintern. When the Soviet Union annexed Lithuania in June of 1940, the CPL was incorporated into the CPSU and immediately purged. The history of the CPL since its merger with the CPSU in 1940 follows the general historical pattern of communist organizations in the other republics of the Soviet Union.

The Congress of the CPL was a very rare occasion during the underground years of the Party, 1918-1940. During that time it has convened only four times. The Fifth CPL Congress met in February of 1941, after the incorporation of the CPL into the All-Union Communist Party. The Sixth CPL Congress was convened in February of 1949 in order to sanction and further mobilize for the rapid collectivization of Lithuania's agriculture, undertaken at that time. The Seventh CPL Congress preceded the Nineteenth

CPSU Congress. Since Stalin's death the CPL held five ordinary and one extraordinary (1959) Congresses. In other words, the frequency of the republic Congresses in the post-Stalin years closely follows the provisions of the Party Rules.

The Thirteenth CPL Congress met in Vilnius on September 27-29, 1961. It was one of the shortest and the least enthusiastic of the CPL meetings. It surveyed achievements and problems in the economic and cultural sections of life, briefly considered the pro-

posed program and rules of the Party, and elected the new central organs of the CPL as well as delegates to the Twenty Second CPSU Congress. Let's examine several more important aspects of the proceedings in Vilnius.<sup>2</sup>

## I. THE CHANGING ELITE

It was announced in the Congress that the CPL membership has reached 64,674 figure (including 8,998 candidates). What this means is well expressed in the following table:

Growth of the CPL, 1940 - 1931<sup>3</sup>

Date of CPL Membership Census	Number of CPL Members	Candidates	Total	% Communist in Population*	No. of Primary Cells	No. of Communists per Cell
June 1, 1940	1,741	—	1,741	.06	—	—
Jan. 1, 1949	25,000	6,000	31,000	1.14	—	—
Sept. 1, 1952	27,464	9,224	36,693	1.35	2,669	13
Jan. 1, 1956	—	—	38,097	1.46	—	—
Jan. 1, 1957	—	—	42,229	1.55	3,436	12
Jan. 1, 1958	38,372	6,449	44,821	1.65	3,645	12
Jan. 1, 1959	41,574	7,540	49,114	1.81	3,885	12
Jan. 1, 1960	46,381	7,943	54,324	2.00	4,025	13
Sept. 1, 1961	55,676	8,998	64,674	2.38	4,434	14

\*The 1959 U.S.S.R. population census data, according to which Lithuania had 2,711,000 inhabitants, were used.

The table suggests that the CPL is a very youthful organization, half of whose membership joined

the Party after the death of Stalin and one third of the membership are in the Party not more

than three years. The CPL has one of the lowest rates of growth in the CPSU and is one of the smallest organizations. In 1961 only 2.38% of Lithuania's population belonged to the Communist

Party, while 4.6% of the entire Soviet Union population were communists. The average monthly rate of growth of the CPL, as compared with that of CPSU, is expressed in the following table:

Average Monthly Rate of Growth, CPSU and CPL, 1940 - 1961<sup>4</sup>

CPSU	Average Monthly Rate of Growth %	Average Monthly Rate of Growth %	CPL
Jan. 1, 1940 — Jan. 1, 1945	1.15	.92	June 1, 1940 — Jan. 1, 1949
Jan. 1, 1945 — Oct. 1, 1952	.31	.41	Jan. 1, 1949 — Sept. 1, 1952
Oct. 1, 1952 — Feb. 1, 1956	.12	.09	Sept. 1, 1952 — Jan. 1, 1956
Feb. 1, 1956 — Feb. 1, 1959	.15	.80	Jan. 1, 1956 — Jan. 1, 1959
Feb. 1, 1959 — Oct. 1, 1961	1.37	.95	Jan. 1, 1959 — Sept. 1, 1961

At the last rate of growth the CPL will not reach the proportional strength to other party organizations of the CPSU for some time. According to calculations of one student of the Communist Party,<sup>5</sup> in 1956 among the 14 republics of the Soviet Union, excluding the RSFSR, the CPL, ranking 7-8 according to population of its territory, ranked 13-14 according to percentage of communists in the population, and 10th according to average monthly rate of growth. The Latvian Communist Party, on the other hand, ranked 7 according to percent of communists in the Latvian population, 4 according to the average monthly rate of growth, while according to the population Latvia ranked 9th.

During the last years, the social orientation of recruiting was toward industrial and agricultural workers. According to the first secretary of the CPL Antanas Sniečkus, of the 10,673 new members, accepted into the Party since January 1, 1960, 59% were "workers and collective farmers," while in the previous period (Jan. 1958 - Jan. 1960) only 53% belonged to this category.<sup>6</sup> What the workers and collective farmers category actually means is impossible to say. It does not, for example, say how many of the "collective farmers" were specialists and managers of various sorts and how many just ordinary agricultural laborers. Occupational distribution of the CPL membership was as follows: 33% were engaged in industry, transport, construction and communication, while 25% were in agriculture, practically no change from the situation in 1960.<sup>7</sup>

The social and political characteristics of the delegates to the Congress are interesting in several respects. The Congress was attended by 688 voting delegates and 111 in advisory capacity. The most striking feature of the Congress delegates is their nationality, especially as compared to the previous congress. In 1959 the Lithuanian delegates to the Congress comprised 77.1%, the Russians — 16.1%, the Poles — 1.0%, while their percentage in the Lithuanian population was 79.3%, 8.5%, and 8.5% respectively. In this year's Congress the Lithuanian delegates comprised 66.8%, the Russians 20.1%, the Poles — 1.6%.<sup>8</sup> In other words there is a notable decrease in the Lithuanian delegation and a parallel increase in the non-Lithuanian representation. As compared to proportion of each nationality to the entire population, the Lithuanians and Poles are way underrepresented, while the Russians are overrepresented. To what extent the national composition of the CPL is similar to the national composition of the delegates to the Congress is impossible to say. It might be said, however, that the importance of Russians, for example, is probably much greater than either their absolute number in the CPL or even their number among the Congress delegates suggests.

There were no dramatic changes in the leading personnel of the CPL.<sup>9</sup> The most notable change concerns the Second Secretary. With minor exception, the Second Secretary of the CPL has always been a Russian. This fact, as well as similar situation in other republics, indicates that the func-

tions of the Second Secretary are that of a watchdog of the central organs of the CPSU, functions which at times constitute the real power in the CPL. The Second Secretary B. S. Sharkov, appointed to that position in 1956, was dismissed without explanation. The new Second Secretary, like his predecessor, is also a Russian, a man by the name of B. Popov, hitherto unknown in Lithuania.

A long time secretary for ideological affairs, V. Niunka, was also replaced by a younger man. Niunka, like the First Secretary A. Sniečkus, belongs to the group of old revolutionaries, who up to now occupied the most strategic positions of influence. Niunka is a member of the CPL Central Committee since 1937 and member of the Secretariat and the Bureau since 1949. Although he was replaced as the smaller bodies, he still remains on the Central Committee. It is too early to speculate as to the meaning of this change. One possible reason for it might be the difficulties in reeducating the Lithuanian nation "in the spirit of scientific communism" — problems which are constantly discussed in the communist press. It is possible that a new and more vigorous campaign against what is called "remnants of capitalism" is in store. The new secretary A. Barkauskas is a younger and an experienced man. Prior to his appointment to the Secretariat Barkauskas was head of the Agitation and Propaganda Department in CPL Central Committee. He also replaced Niunka in the Political Bureau.

The Central Committee Department heads are changed fairly often. Of the seven department heads appointed four did not serve in the previous term. Two of the appointed are Russians: V. Kolesnikov—head of the important Agriculture Department and F. Jekaterinichev—head of the newly established Construction and Construction Materials Department.

The new Central Committee differs very little from the previous ones. Of the 123 Central Committee members elected, 77 or 62.6% were on the previous Central Committees, 9 or 7.3% were promoted from the candidate status of previous Central Committee,





Viktoras PETRAVICIUS

ILLUSTRATION FOR A LITHUANIAN  
FOLK STORY • Wood-cut, 1938

and 37 or 30% were newly elected. Compared to the Central Committee, elected in March 1960, the members re-elected constituted

70.6%, and the newly elected — about 30%. The turnover among candidates of Central Committee is much greater, the newly elected

constituting usually well over 50% of the candidates.

According to the nationality of the Central Committee members

and candidates, about 72% among the members and 71% among the candidates are Lithuanians, the remaining being of other nationalities, mainly Russian. In a previous Central Committee, 73% of the members and 76% of the candidates were identified as Lithuanians. This data, as well as the nationality composition of the Thirteenth CPL Congress suggests a slight increase of non-Lithuanian influence in the CPL. In the Central Committee, elected in 1949, the percent of non-Lithuanians was determined to be at 40, while in 1960 the non-Lithuanians comprised only 20%. This was a reflection of a more favorable nationality policy after Stalin, especially since the Twentieth CPSU Congress. The non-Lithuanians in the Central Committee elected in the Thirteenth CPL Congress again slightly increased, reversing the trend. Whether this means a return to stricter control of the CPL by non-Lithuanian functionaries is too early to say.

The Congress elected the largest delegation to the All-Union Congress ever, 31 delegates with voting rights and 5 in advisory capacity. The significant point about the delegation is that about 2/3 of the delegates represented secondary or even the lowest levels of party and government leadership. Outside the top members of the Political Bureau and the Council of Ministers, designation of delegates to the All-Union Congress was a matter of reward and balancing of the social and political composition of the Congress delegates.

## II. THE REPORT OF THE FIRST SECRETARY

Antanas Sniečkus, the First Secretary, is a colorful Kremlinist. He has survived in the secretariat of the CPL since 1926 and in the position of the First Secretary since 1936. This fact alone testifies to his political instinct for survival and suggests that the CPL itself must bear the imprints of his personality. The secret of Sniečkus' survival perhaps can be found in his political flexibility and the absolute obedience to whoever happens to sit in the Kremlin. He was a Stalinist during Stalin's reign and an enthusiastic supporter of Khrushchev today. That's why the description

Kremlinist is appropriate to Sniečkus.

A. Sniečkus in his report<sup>10</sup> to the Thirteenth CPL Congress covered the major areas of Party concerns: industry, agriculture, party and cadre policies, and ideological policies.

### The Achievements of Lithuanian Industry

The secretary was generally satisfied with the achievements in industry. It was announced that during the two and a half years of the Seven Year plan Lithuanian industry has reached the level of production originally planned to be reached in 1963. The productivity increased 17% instead of the 14% in the Plan. These achievements are moderated by the slow rate of modernization, which reached only 95% of the plan in 1960 and 90% during the first half of 1961. Furthermore, in quest for good production indexes, the various industries produce a large percentage of defective products. The furniture manufacturing plant Beržas in Vilnius, for example, turned out products of which some 36% had major defects.

J. Maniūšis, the Central Committee secretary for industrial affairs, in his report on the program of the Communist Party,<sup>11</sup> claimed that during the coming twenty years the production of Lithuanian industry will expand thricefold, while agricultural production will increase about four times the present production. Maniūšis reported that heavy and medium industry will be especially emphasized: electric power production, machine construction and metallurgy, chemical industry, electronic industry, and construction materials and construction industry. This means that the enormously expanded Lithuanian industry will depend on other parts of the Soviet Union for new materials, power, and markets. Economic specialization and integration is one important aspect of the overall amalgamation process of the nationalities of the Soviet Union.

Finally, Sniečkus complained that party and soviet organs are not avid enough in eliminating waste, graft, bribery, falsification of production records, and protectionism. The CPL responded to Khrushchev's disclosures of such practices in its Seventh Plenum

in June of 1961, and found that Lithuania is not an exception to the widespread dishonesty and graft of the economic and political bureaucracies.

### The Failures of Collective Agriculture

The achievements in industry are eclipsed by the failures of agriculture, where the overwhelming majority of the population works. About the only encouraging report was the modest success in corn growing. According to Sniečkus, despite bad weather, corn harvest was satisfactory. Although the general indexes for meat and milk production improved in 1960 over the production in 1959, 40 and 22 per cent respectively, much improvement had to be made to meet set delivery quotas for meat, milk, and cereal crops. In the January, 1961, Plenum of the Central Committee CPSU, Khrushchev criticized Lithuania for not emphasizing enough cereal crops, even though Lithuanian agriculture specializes in animal farming and fodder crops. He called for an increase in cereal, meat, and milk deliveries by the Lithuanian farmers. In answer to Khrushchev's demands "The Lithuanian land tillers" promised to deliver the state in 1961 — 190,000 tons of meat, 750,000 tons of milk, 131,000 tons of cereal grain.<sup>12</sup> That means that Lithuanian agriculture had to deliver about the entire meat production of 1959, half the total milk production in 1959.<sup>13</sup> At the time of the Congress it was evident that it will be very difficult to fulfill Khrushchev's demands. For the first five months of 1961, as compared to the same period of 1960, the total milk production had fallen down 9% and meat production 10%.<sup>13a</sup> In the Twenty Second Congress Sniečkus announced that the quota for grain delivery had been fulfilled on the eve of the Congress.<sup>14</sup> He did not specify, however, what the quota exactly amounted to.

With those facts in mind, Sniečkus concentrated in criticizing all facets of agricultural production in an effort to assure a satisfactory fulfillment of state demands, on which the career of Sniečkus and his lieutenants in large measure depends.

One of the more spectacular revelations in Sniečkus' agricultural report was the fact that many of

the sovkhoses or state farms, "the examples of a socialist factory," were operating at a deficit.

Part of the agricultural problem in Lithuania is the independent farmer, who traditionally tilled his own land until the collectivization in 1949-1950. On the small personal plots Lithuanian farmers, with about 5% of the total arable land, dramatically outproduce the collective agriculture. For example, in meat production (live weight), of the 286,900 tons produced in 1959, the state farmers produced 30,000 tons, the collective farms 84,400 tons, the rest being a produce of the private sectors of economy.<sup>15</sup> Wide discrepancies in production between the private and socialist sectors of agriculture are partly due to ideological and social factors, i.e. the alien nature of collectivized existence to the traditionally independent and free farmer and the system of separate farming households throughout the countryside.

In an effort to socialize the few remaining private areas of life, in recent years the party began a campaign to eliminate the often isolated family homesteads, a system established in independent Lithuania. The soviet regime began construction of collective farm villages. The intention of this campaign is more than evident. The elimination of separate homesteads would not only be economical to the state (in electrifying the country and providing various social and consumer services), but it also would greatly increase the regime's potential of political and ideological control of the populace.

The task of building collective farm villages was designated by Sniečkus as a primary concern. In 1960, 26,000 separate homesteads were moved to collective farm villages. During the years 1961-1965 additional 90,000 homesteads were to be established in collective farm villages. That means that by 1965 close to a third of the homesteads will be in collective farm villages.<sup>16</sup>

#### **Ideological Problems**

The making of a "communist man" evidently is very problematical, since Sniečkus devoted the major part of his report to this task. Sniečkus' statements on cultural life followed the principal theses of the draft program of the Communist Party and con-

tained a far reaching departure from previous interpretations. The key concept, underlying Sniečkus' discussion of the future of national culture, may be said to be "soviet culture." Theoretically, it means a replacement of "national form" with "soviet form" in cultural patterns. In other words, the future culture of the nations in the Soviet Empire will be "soviet in form and socialist in content." Practically, it means a dominance of Russian cultural forms over all the cultures in the Soviet Union.

The new pronouncements on national culture contain very significant implications for the eventual survival of smaller nations in the Soviet Union and a lengthy quotation from Sniečkus' report, therefore, is justified.

"The historical process of further drawing together of nations must be more extensively reflected in the cultural construction. It is noted in the draft of the Party Program that the vast undertaking of communist construction and new victories of communist ideology enriches the socialist in content, national in form culture of the nations of the USSR.

The process of drawing together of cultures of the USSR nations is characteristic of the present period, a new international culture, common to all soviet nations, is developing. The international duty of the republic party organization, of all ideological workers is actively to participate in the process of forming an international culture.

The republic party organization imbues the working people with love and respect to the fraternal nation of the Soviet Union, first of all to the great Russian nation which displays genuine international example in respect to all the nations of the USSR.

The Russian language has a very special significance in strengthening the friendship of soviet nations, [it] aids in mutual exchange of experiences, [it] aids every nation of our land to enjoy the cultural achievements of all other nations and the world culture. We must seek that the working people of Lithuania study the Russian language even on a wider scale. It is necessary to further improve the teaching of the Rus-

sian language in schools and higher schools. Special attention must be given to teaching of the Russian language in the rural areas."

The de-nationalization of Lithuania, thus, may be said to be the future task of the CPL. In view of the new pronouncements on culture, Sniečkus practically repudiated the principal studies of Lithuanian culture and history as being significantly influenced by "bourgeois" nationalist conceptions." He attacked vigorously the historical works of J. Jurginis, hitherto used as textbooks in schools, as un-Marxist, un-Leninist, un-Russian, highly nationalistic. The already distorted version of Lithuanian history seems to be headed for even more drastic revisions.

One example of what all this talk on the future of national culture means was provided by Sniečkus, speaking before the Lithuanian Teachers' Congress at the beginning of this year. He stated:

"Striving to create better conditions for educating the youth in the spirit of communist ideas, it is better to show to the students the basis of historical friendship of the Lithuanian nation with the Russian nation and other nations of our land ... a decision has been accepted to teach the history of the Lithuanian SSR in the system of the history of the USSR and on its basis."<sup>17</sup>

In other words, Lithuanian history is considered an integral part of the U.S.S.R. history. In fact, Sniečkus stated to the Congress that in view of the pronouncements of the Program, school curriculae and textbooks must be re-examined.

The conclusion to be drawn must be viewed with uneasiness and alarm. The "thaw" in cultural matters seems to have ended. A new period, promising extensive limitations on exploitation of national values, has been opened. According to the new Program, the future cultural policy is designed to hasten the development of a soviet culture.

#### **III. THE PROGRAM AND THE RULES**

The first and second points of the Congress agenda were reports on the draft Program and the newly proposed Rules of the CP SU. The Program report<sup>18</sup> was



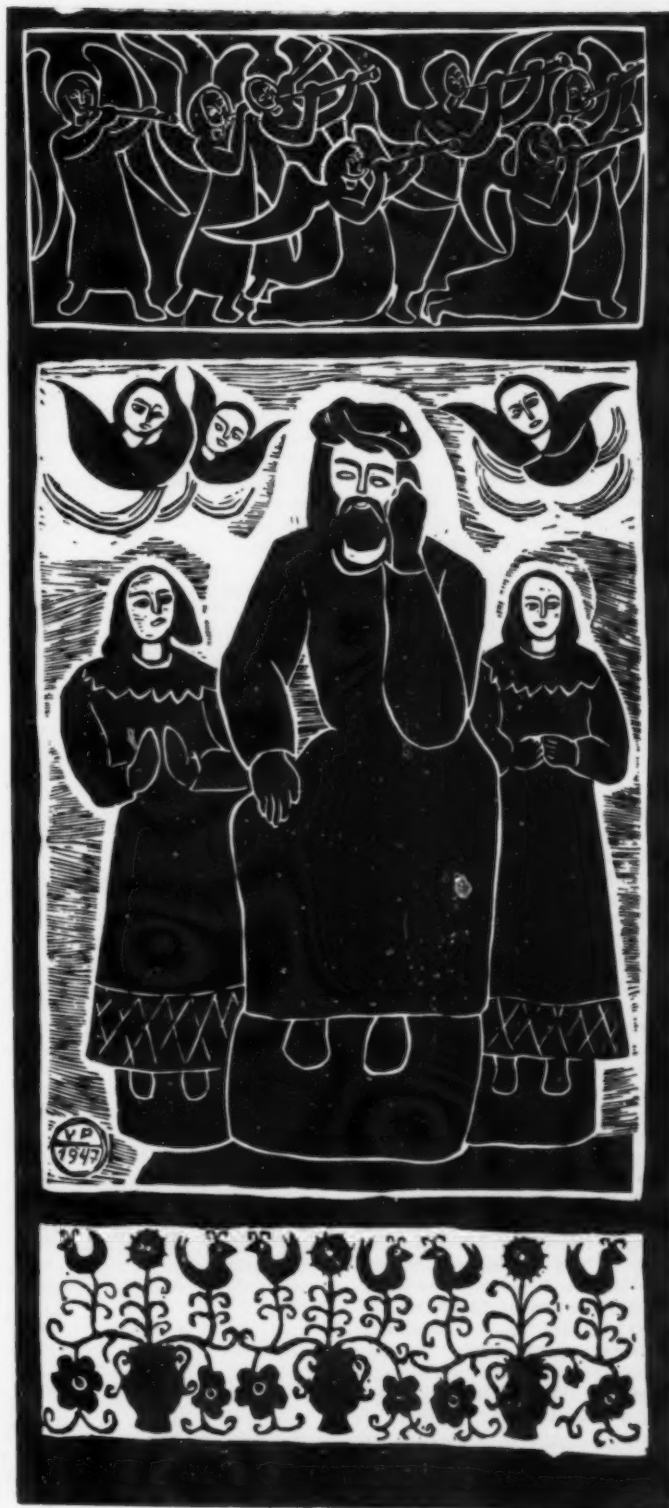
presented by a central committee secretary J. Maniušis, who usually is in charge of industrial affairs. It was a very general revue of the Program, presented in glowing terms. Also in very general terms Maniušis explained the meaning of the Program for the development of Lithuania in the next twenty years.

The report on the new Party Rules was presented by another secretary of the CPL, A. Barauskas.<sup>19</sup> His report was also a very general revue of the Rules. According to Barauskas the proposed Rules were discussed in various meetings attended by 52,232 communists and 64,156 non-party people. Actually taking part in the discussion were 16,716 people. In all probability the statistics for Program discussions are similar. In other words, despite the enormous effort to generate wide discussions of the Program and the Rules, only .6% of the Lithuanian population actually was involved in the discussion.

Actually there were no genuine discussion of these reports or the proposed Program and Rules by the delegates to the Congress. The delegates were well aware that their opinions will not be taken seriously by the Kremlin. Every speaker, "discussing" the reports, concerned mainly with his area of activity, giving a polite reference to the Program or to the Rules when the occasion demanded. Both the Program and the Rules of the CPSU were "enthusiastically and unanimously approved" by the Congress. Further discussion and study of the Program and the Rules were ordered.<sup>20</sup>

#### IV. THE SECOND ROUND OF DE-STALINIZATION

In the Thirteenth CPL Congress there was not a single reference made to the personality cult or the anti-party group. Evidently the republic party organization was not aware of the coming renewal of attack on Stalin. But when Sniečkus got to the rostrum of the Kremlin Congress Hall, he joined others in lambasting his own political mentor — Stalin. Whatever happened during the Stalin years in Lithuania—Sniečkus along with the "agents of Beria", is also responsible. He always was at the apex of the CPL, formally, if not actually. Yet typical to his reputation, without taking blame, he attacked others



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for excesses during the post-war years in Lithuania. Sniečkus described his role during those years in a manner suggesting captivity by and powerlessness in the face of Stalinist terror. Here is a passage from Sniečkus' speech to the Union Congress:

"There were serious difficulties during the period of the personality cult also in our republic, in which the Soviet Government was established quite recently. Much harm was caused by the infractions of socialist legality during the years of class warfare, when the Lithuanian nation had to subdue the resistance of bourgeois nationalist bands, formed by Hitlerist occupants and supported by the American and British intelligence. Beria type avanturists attempted to discredit the Soviet Government by unlawfully handling innocent people, burdened the struggle against traitors, and sometime provided an opportunity to the real enemies of socialism and the people to evade responsibility. The infraction of socialist legality created great difficulties in mobilizing the working masses around the Party and the Soviet Government."<sup>20a</sup>

In this statement Sniečkus refers to the widespread resistance to sovietization by the Lithuanian nation after the World War II, and to the excesses and terror by Soviet security forces in overcoming the resistance. Ironically, the man who was in charge of elimination of resistance to sovietization was M. Suslov, the leading theoretician of the CP. According to reliable sources, M. Suslov headed a Special Bureau for Lithuania of the Central Committee, CPSU, during 1944-1946, an organ created for the purpose of stamping out the underground and establishing the soviet regime.<sup>21</sup> Suslov's role in Lithuania during the post-war years was confirmed in 1960, when he represented the Central Committee, CPSU, in the Vilnius commemoration of the twenty years since the incorporation of Lithuania into the Soviet Union. Sniečkus' comments on the terror of the post-war years in Lithuania were an indirect indictment of himself and his superior—M. Suslov.

"It was easier to breathe once the personality cult was liquidated," concluded Sniečkus, as if

a catharsis of his soul had just been achieved.

At the writing of this report it was not fully known what the second round of de-Stalinization will mean to Lithuania. Several suggestions may be made nevertheless.

The revelations of Stalinist terror, recounted in the Lithuanian press, by implication indicted the older group of Lithuanian communists, headed by Sniečkus, as accomplices of the extreme oppressive actions against the resisting nation. No matter how much Sniečkus pretends to have been a powerless executor of Kremlin's will, he must bear part of the responsibility for terror. It is possible that the Old Guard of Lithuanian Communism, which so much is involved in post-war excesses, was given a serious blow by the Union Congress. How the younger generation of communists, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the CPL, will react to the arbitrariness of the Stalinists, is too early to say. One thing is clear, however: the record of Sniečkus has been seriously attacked and his future is not so certain.

Following the Kremlin example of removing Stalin and his name from the public, the republic party organization already eliminated Stalin's name from several streets, Sniečkus is publicly discussing the harm done to the nation and the party during Stalin's years. The first round of de-Stalinization meant a relative freedom to exploit national values and heritage. The second round of de-Stalinization, on the other hand, will not, in all probability, continue the emphasis on developing national culture—"national in form, socialist in content." At least the provisions of the new Program suggest this. "Soviet culture" and "socialistic legality" will concern the CPL in the coming years. In other words, the regime will strive to provide greater security to its citizens, but will intensify its struggle against nationalism and for communism.

T. P. R.

#### NOTES

1. The history of the CPL has not been written, neither in Lithuania nor in the West. The contemporary communist historians, however, have produced many preliminary studies of various aspects of the CPL history.

The historical comments that follow are based in the following works: Institute of History, Lithuanian S.S.R., Academy of Sciences, *Lietuvos T.S.R. Istorijos šaltiniai* (The Sources of the Lithuanian S.S.R. History), vol. III, 1917-1919, Vilnius, 1958; Institute of Party History of the Central Committee, CPL, *Revoliucinis judėjimas Lietuvoje* (The Revolutionary Movement in Lithuania), a collection of articles, Vilnius, 1957.

2. The proceedings of the CPL Congress are recorded in *Tiesa* ("Pravda"), Sept. 28 to Oct. 5, 1961. Most of the factual material that follows are found in these issues of *Tiesa*.

3. The membership figures were compiled from soviet press, usually on the occasion of the CPL Congress. See also *Boisheia Sovetskaja Entsiklopedija*, 2nd ed., Moscow, 1947-57, section on the Lithuanian S.S.R.; and the *Ezhgodnik* of the said encyclopedia for 1957, 1958, 1959, and 1960, articles on Lithuania.

4. The average monthly rate of growth is the percent of increase during 1 month, whose average absolute increase is calculated by dividing the absolute increase in membership by the number of months during which the absolute increase occurred.

5. See Walter S. Hanchett, "Some Observations on Membership Figures of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. LII, Dec., 1958, pp. 1123-1127.

6. *Tiesa*, Sept. 30, 1961, p. 2

7. *Ibid.*

8. The 1959 data: *Tiesa*, Jan. 17, 1959, p. 1; The 1961 data: *Dirva*, Oct. 9, 1961, p. 1

9. The composition of the new central organs, elected at the Congress, is given in *Tiesa*, Oct. 1, 1961, p. 1.

10. A. Sniečkus, "The Report of the Central Committee of the CP of Lithuania to the XIII Congress of the CP of Lithuania," *Tiesa*, Sept. 30, 1961., the entire issue.

11. *Ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1961, p. 2

12. *Ibid.*, Feb. 18, 1961, p. 1

13. Central Committee of Statistics, *Tarybų Lietuvos Dvidešimtmetis* (20 Years of Soviet Lithuania), a collection of statistical data, Vilnius, 1960, pp. 195-197.

13a. *Komunistas* (The Communist), June 1961, No. 6, p. 22

14. Sniečkus' speech to the Twenty Second Congress, CPSU, *Tiesa*, Oct. 24, 1961, p. 3.

15. *Tarybų Lietuvos Dvidešimtmetis*, p. 195.

16. *Tiesa*, Jan. 14, 1961, p. 3.

17. *Tarybinė Mokykla* (The Soviet School), No. 1, Jan. 1961, p. 8.

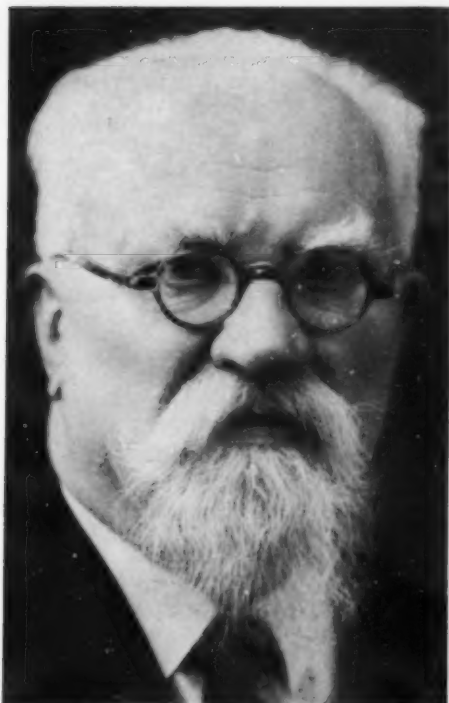
18. *Tiesa*, Sept. 28, 1961, p. 2.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

20. *Ibid.*, Sept. 29, 1961, p. 2.

20a. *Ibid.*, Oct. 24, 1961, p. 3

21. This is the contention of Lt. Col. G. S. Burlitski, testifying to a Congressional Committee. Burlitski was in command of 2nd Battalion, 668th Soviet Border Guard Division of the MVD until his defection to the West in June of 1953. He participated in the punitive campaign against the Lithuanian resistance between 1944 and 1951. His testimony is found in Select Committee on Communist Aggression, House of Representatives, 83rd Congress, 2nd ses., Hearings, pt. 2, pp. 1318-1375 (Washington, 1954).



## The Centenary of

**JONAS  
ŠLIUPAS**

As a writer, editor, orator, physician, diplomat, businessman, professor, and above all, as a dedicated, impassioned, and unceasing champion of Lithuanian liberty and interests at home and abroad — Dr. Jonas Šliūpas occupies a prominent niche in the gallery of eminent and renowned Lithuanians of the past and present.

Dr. Šliūpas was born in the village of Rakandžiai, in the Šiauliai district of Lithuania, on March 10, 1861, at a time of Tsarist Russian occupation, harsh Russification and stringent suppression of the Lithuanian professionals and intellectuals. His youth, maturity, and the later years, were characterized by the synthesis of an intense patriotism and devotion to the Lithuanian cause of freedom. By his strong determination to educate himself, to develop his numerous abilities, to search for new ideas and new approaches to traditional problems, he rose above banal problems and devoted his energies to the fight for free speech, free press, free thought, and above all, freedom from ignorance and superstition in his beloved country. The result was an active and courageous

participation in the resistance movement, especially through the clandestine printing and distribution of Lithuanian books and publications. His was a life-long dedication to the dissemination of his own love for his country and its culture through the medium of the printed word and through the ultimate creation of a well-informed, educated and aware citizenry, willing and able to take an active part in the reestablishment of a free nation.

The career of Jonas Šliūpas was multifaceted, kaleidoscopic and almost defies simple description. Out of favor, because of participation in anti-Russian activities, but at the top of his class, Šliūpas graduated from Mintauja Gymnasium and went to the University of Moscow to study philology. He was soon expelled because he organized an illegal Lithuanian student group and published a mimeographed Lithuanian newspaper. Having decided on medicine as his future profession, Šliūpas enrolled at the University of St. Petersburg but was expelled again for his pro-Lithuanian sentiments and activities. He was barred from admission to

any university in the Russian territory.

Young Šliūpas returned to his homeland. Shortly afterwards, in 1882, he was asked by the Lithuanian patriots to come to the Prussian town of Tilsit (Tilsit) to serve as the editor of *Aušra* (The Dawn), a newspaper of significant importance in the national awakening, which was being smuggled across the border into Lithuania. For his patriotic activity in printing the forbidden newspaper and due to pressures from the Russian government, he became a menace to the Prussian regime. In 1884 Šliūpas was told to leave East Prussia. Secretly he returned home, and despite being a wanted man by the Russian government, participated in the formulation of a memorandum on Lithuanian political rights which, risking an arrest, he delivered personally to the Russian Governor General in Warsaw.

Realizing that as a hunted man, he could do little of consequence in Lithuania, Šliūpas came to the United States in 1884. He had left behind Russification at home only to find Polonization among Lithuanians abroad. This was especially evident with regard to the religious life of the immigrant community. Books and newspapers in Lithuanian virtually were nonexistent. With his customary vigor and vitality, Jonas Šliūpas started a drive to improve this situation. He agitated for the formation of Lithuanian parishes, for Lithuanian cultural societies, and for a Lithuanian press. His own contribution was *Lietuvių Balsas* (Lithuanian Voice), a newspaper which he published and edited from 1885 to 1889, despite meager finances and growing family obligations.

Jonas Šliūpas managed to fulfill his professional goal by obtaining a medical degree from the University of Maryland in 1895. He spent the next decade traveling throughout the United States, lecturing and continuing his untiring efforts to stimulate Lithuanians to active participation in patriotic affairs and the struggle to reestablish an independent Lithuania. A sincere, fiery, uncompromising, and compellingly vehement orator, Dr. Šliūpas aroused strong concurrence and equally strong opposition, especially from the pro-Polish priesthood. During this period he also wrote several dozen books, crea-

ted cultural, social and patriotic organizations, and founded a newspaper characteristically entitled *Laisvoji Mintis* (Free Thought).

Directly prior to and during World War I, Dr. Šliūpas was active in the movement for Lithuanian national independence and returned to Europe at the end of the war, when independence seemed imminent. There he helped to shape the emerging Lithuanian state. In 1919 he organized the first Lithuanian diplomatic mission to Great Britain and later on was the first Lithuanian Envoy to Riga, Latvia.

The years of Lithuanian independence were spent assisting in the economic reorganization of Lithuania, teaching, and lecturing at the University in Kaunas. For his unceasing struggle to make Lithuania an independent and truly democratic nation, in 1936 he was awarded Honorary Doctorates in Medicine, Law and History by the University of Vytautas the Great. That same year, which marked his 75th anniversary, Dr. Šliūpas was honored by the Lithuanian government and the Lithuanian people. He received the Order of Gediminas, one of the highest in the land, at public commemoration exercises held

in his honor, and also the Three Star Order of Latvia from the Latvian government for his advocacy of a United Federation of the Baltic States. On this occasion Lithuania issued postage stamps honoring Dr. Šliūpas as editor of *Aušra*.

Even during the last years of his life, Dr. Šliūpas continued to advocate free speech, and fought for the basic human rights, remaining editor of *Laisvoji Mintis*. When the Russian forces reinvaded Lithuania in 1944, he was again compelled to seek safety abroad and found refuge in Bregenz, Austria. He died on November 6, 1944 in Berlin, Germany, just a few hours prior to a radio broadcast of his speech to the Lithuanians in America, in which he was planning to ask them for eternal vigilance and undying spiritual strength to continue the fight for Lithuanian freedom against any and all oppressors.

Dr. Jonas Šliūpas was and remains a controversial figure, often accused of anticlericalism because of his stress of bigotry and religious orthodoxy as the chief enemies of freedom of thought. Yet disagreement with one or more of his beliefs need not prevent one from admiring the man himself. Not only the versatile

accomplishments and the deeds of the man, but also his very spirit remains alive. Dr. Jonas Šliūpas was a man of integrity, strong character—a man of courage and conviction. Intrinsicly individualistic, analytic, and inquiring, Dr. Šliūpas fought the stereotyped closed mentality. He generated new ideas and incited a re-evaluation and reappraisal of old beliefs. He opposed pedagogy, hypocrisy, and prejudice and strove to teach the people to think for themselves, to question, to accept facts, but not someone's opinion. Fiery and outspoken, uncompromisingly stubborn—yes, but also unswervingly loyal to his country, to his ideals, to his cause, and to what he believed was right.

H. L. P.

STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF AUGUST 24, 1912 AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933 & JULY 2, 1946 (Title 29, United States Code, Section 233) SHOWING THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION OF LITUANUS published four times a year at Brooklyn, New York, for October 1, 1961.

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2. The owner is: Lithuanian Student Association, Inc. (Non-profit corp.), 916 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn 21, N.Y.

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5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceeding the date shown above was: (This information is required by the act of June 11, 1960 to be included in all statements regardless of frequency of issue). 6200.

Peter V. Vygasas (Signature of Managing Editor) 16th day of Oct., 1961.

Nathan Agoos, Notary Public, State of New York 31-5028700. Qualified in New York. Cert. filed with City Register N.Y.C. Commission expires March 30, 1962.



V. PETRAVICIUS

IN MY NATIVE COUNTRY  
(detail) • Lino-cut, 1948







## LITERATURE RECOMMENDED

**THE FORMATION OF THE BALTIC STATES**  
By S. W. Page, Cambridge, Mass., 1959; p. 196.  
\$4.50

**THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN LITHUANIA.** By A. E. Senn, New York, 1959; p. 272.  
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**SOVIET POLICY TOWARDS THE BALTIC STATES, 1918-1940.** By A. N. Tarulis, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1959. \$5.50

**SELECTED LITHUANIAN SHORT STORIES**  
Edited by Stepas Zobarskas, New York, 1960;  
Second Edition. \$5.00.

**LITHUANIAN FOLK TALES**  
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by Stepas Zobarskas, illustrated by Ada Kor-  
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**LITHUANIA**  
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**THE BALTIC REVIEW**  
A periodical on matters pertaining to the Baltic  
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Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

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Boston, 1957. \$3.00

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**CROSSES**  
By V. Ramonas. A novel depicting the life  
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Los Angeles, 1954; p. 330 \$4.00

**MARY SAVE US**  
Prayers written by Lithuanian Prisoners in  
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